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THE BASS·ROCK

ITS

CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTIC HISTORY

by Thomas Mac Gie

GEOLOGY

MARTYROLOGY

ZOOLOGY AND BOTANY.



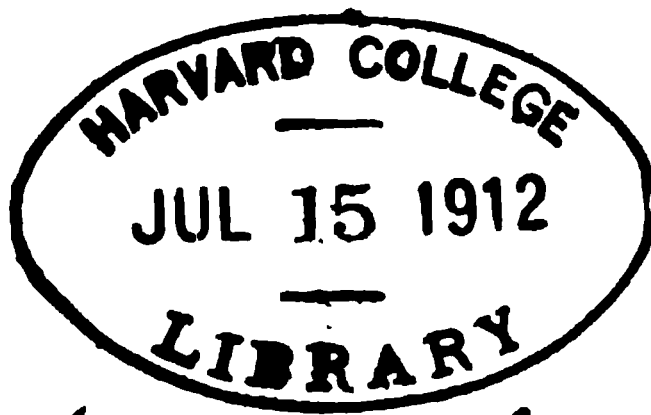
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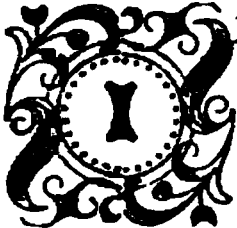
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PREFACE.

N these days of joint-stock speculation, it will not excite surprise that a literary work should be got up on a principle somewhat similar. We see no reason why authors may not invest their wits, as merchants do their wealth, in a common capital, nor why a good book may not be produced by a judicious combination of scrip and division of labour. The only feature of the present undertaking which seems to require explanation, is the limited dimensions of the ground selected for our operations. We must confess that it has been barely sufficient to afford room for five of us, and that we have been in danger occasionally of jostling and tripping each other in the course of our proceedings. But it would ill have become us to quarrel with this, when we reflected how very different our confinement

has been from that of the unhappy prisoners formerly doomed to languish on this barren rock, more especially when we were not only allowed, what they were often denied, "the liberty of the whole island," but invited to extend our researches as far back as the time when rocks and islands in general came into existence. Nor is the narrowness of the spot, which may be regarded as the terminus of our diverging lines, altogether without its advantages. A larger field, embracing other castles formerly devoted to the same purposes with the Bass, might, no doubt, have furnished ampler materials for illustration; but by confining ourselves to one, we secure unity of design, and what the scene lacks in point of grandeur, it gains in point of interest—on the same principle that Sterne "took his single captive, and having first shut him up in his dungeon, looked at him through the twilight of his grated door, to take his picture."

The volume opens with the Civil and Ecclesiastic History of the Bass,—a precedence which this portion owes to its partaking, more than any of the other parts, of an introductory character. Here the reader may be reminded, perhaps, of the clergyman that was compelled to preach a sermon on a single short word as a text; he will therefore make some allowance, should he find a superfluous display of knowledge where little can be known, and a good deal of talking where little can be told. The writer claims no more than the humble merit of stringing together the few facts scattered over

the surface of history, and which, like the ruins that attest them, were fast hastening into decomposition and "dumb forgetfulness."

The Geological description of the rock which follows, comes from the pen of one of whom it may be truly said, as it was of Goldsmith, that "there was nothing he touched that he did not adorn." It would be mere affectation in one who can hardly boast of having mastered the nomenclature of the science which Mr Miller has done so much to popularize and advance, to pretend to act as his cicerone. And, indeed, I feel very much in the predicament of the servant who, after in vain attempting to enunciate the name of a Russian nobleman at a party, begged as a particular favour that his Excellence would "show up" himself.

The Historical Notices of the prisoners confined in the Bass, as they necessarily form the longest, will not, it is hoped, prove the least interesting portion of the volume. It was impossible, within shorter compass, to do any measure of justice to so many names. A slight inspection of these biographies will show that they are no hasty compilations, nor one-sided pictures, but an accurate and impartial collection of facts, the result of laborious and intelligent inquiry into the most authentic sources. The Records of the Privy Council and the Justiciary Courts have been carefully examined, and the facts thus elicited have been presented exactly as they appeared when disinterred, many of them for the first time, from the archives of

the Register Office, being left, in a great measure, to tell their own tale, and teach their own lessons.

The volume closes with notices of the Natural History of the rock, as it now appears, since it has reverted into the possession of its original proprietors, the solan geese and other sea-fowl, and in the upper dress in which it presents itself to the admirers of nature. It can hardly fail to enhance the interest of our book, that it affords its readers the rare treat of a zoological and botanical survey of the island, in the company of such men as Professors Fleming and Balfour, both of whom are so celebrated in their respective walks, and so well fitted to communicate, in the best spirit, the stores of their varied information.

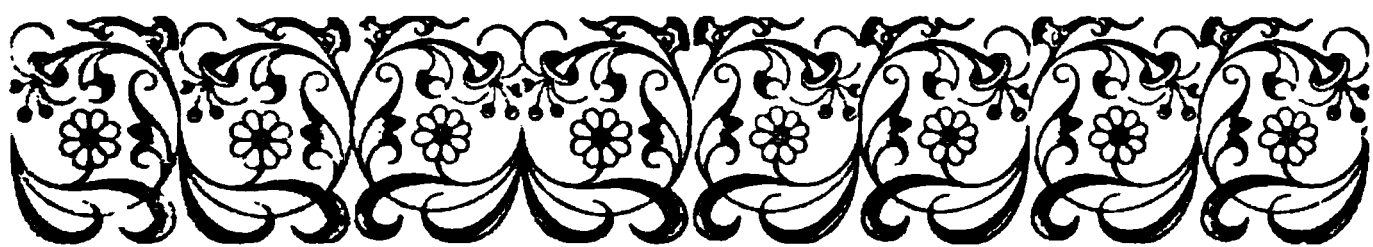
It only remains for me to add, that the whole work was originally projected by a gentleman, whose warm interest in the history of the Bass Rock is strengthened by local associations—Mr James Crawford, jun., W.S.,—to whose indefatigable exertions in securing the services of those employed in the literary department, and in providing materials and embellishments for the volume, the public are mainly indebted for its appearance.

THOMAS M'CRIE.

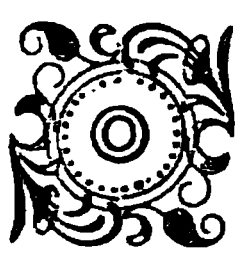
EDINBURGH, *December* 1847.

**CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTIC HISTORY
OF THE BASS.**

BY THE REV. THOMAS M'CRIE.



CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTIC HISTORY OF THE BASS.

LD HECTOR BOECE, speaking of the Bass as it appeared in his day, describes it as “ane wondrous crag, risand within the sea, with so narrow and strait hals (passage) that na schip nor boit may arrive bot allanerlie at ane part of it. This crag is callet the Bas; unwinnabill by ingine of man. In it are coves, als profitable for defence of men, as (if) thay were biggit be crafty industry. Every thing that is in that crag is ful of admiration and wonder.”* Such as the Bass stood in the beginning of the sixteenth century when Boece flourished, so does it stand in the nineteenth century, unaltered in a single feature, and still “ful of admiration and wonder.” Rising abruptly to the height of four hundred and twenty feet above the level of the sea, about two miles from the shore, and three miles east from the ancient royal burgh of North Berwick, it pre-

* Bellenden's Boece, vol. i. p. 37.

sents to the stranger one of the most striking objects on entering the mouth of the Firth ; and to the visitor in summer, when the dark-browed rock is encircled with myriads of sea-fowl, wheeling around it in all varieties of plumage, and screaming in all the notes of the aquatic scale, when it may be said,

The Isle is full of noises,
Sounds, and *wild* airs, that give delight, and hurt not,

the scene appears like enchantment, and leaves an impression not easily forgotten.

But leaving to be described by more competent hands, those natural features of the Bass which have remained unchanged by the lapse of ages, it falls to my lot to record scenes and events connected with its history which are past and gone—never, we hope, to return. About half way up the southern slope of the rock, are the remains of an ancient chapel, pointing to an early date, and associated with the introduction of Christianity into Scotland. At the base of the same slope, clinging as it were to the sides of the precipice, are the mouldering walls of a fortification, within which a number of our pious countrymen were incarcerated during the reigns of the last Stuarts. These two ruins, between which, judging even from their outward aspect and structure, there occurs a chasm of some duration, are curiously enough suggestive of the two periods to which our researches extend ; the interval between the first and the second embracing what have been truly called the dark ages—dark in an historical as well as religious sense ; for it is a remarkable fact, that the lights of history shine more brightly on our earlier annals, when the simplicity of the Christian faith was retained, than on later times when the Pope reigned paramount in

our land. The old chapel carries us back to these times of primitive simplicity ; while to the associations connected with the battered fortress at its base, this rock, barren and insignificant in itself, is mainly indebted for the interest it now possesses in the eyes of Scotsmen.

The first notice of the Bass in our ancient records, is in connection with one of those religious hermits, who at a very early period, driven probably by persecution, or by the wars between the Scots and the Picts, selected it as his place of retreat. The name of this hermit of the Bass was Saint Baldred. He was of Scottish descent, and flourished at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century, having died in the year of our Lord 606. Our information concerning him is not only meagre, but so mixed up with the legends of superstition, that it is difficult to distinguish between the true and the fabulous. He has been termed, for example, Bishop of Glasgow, and the successor of St Kentigern or Mungo, the patron saint of that city.* Whereas, so far as authentic history goes, there is no evidence that Mungo was a bishop at all, any more than St Columba, who is acknowledged on all hands to have been no more than a Presbyter, though he was the head of the monastery, or religious college of Iona.† This fact, resting on the authority of the venerable Bede, has sadly puzzled our episcopal antiquaries, who have been obliged to resort to the extraordinary supposition, that St Columba must have kept a bishop in his monastery, as a gentleman may keep a family doctor, expressly for the purpose of conferring holy orders on those whom he sent forth to

* Thom. Dempsteri Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. tom. i. p. 65.

† Dalrymple's Collections, p. 136.

preach the gospel !* Of one thing we may be certain, that until Palladius was sent by the Pope in 420, the Scots knew nothing about bishops. "Before his arrival," says Fordun, "the Scots had presbyters and monks only, as teachers of the faith and ministers of the sacraments, following the rule of the primitive church."† And it was long after this before they could be prevailed on to part with their ancient pastors, to whom they were naturally attached as having been chosen by themselves ; "for," says Bale, "they had their bishops and ministers formerly elected according to the Word, *by the votes of the people*, as appears to have been practised in Britain after the manner of Asia : But this did not please the Romans, who were fonder of ceremonies and disliked the Asiatics."‡

In all probability, therefore, the veritable St Baldred of the Bass was a simple Culdee presbyter, residing for safety and retirement in the island, as Columba did in Iona, and Adamnan, another presbyter, in Inchkeith, but sallying forth occasionally to teach the rude natives on the mainland the doctrines of

* Lloyd, bishop of St Asaph, Historical Account, p. 102. Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, pref. 20. In Spotswood's list of the bishops of Glasgow, St Baldred is omitted, and from St Mungo, the first bishop in 599, there is a total blank to John Achaian in 1129—the small space of about five centuries and a half ! And yet Keith could be "pretty positive that St Mungo was truly a bishop." Spotswood's Hist. App. p. 46. Keith's Cat. p. 137. This is as good as his setting down *Amphibalus* as the first archbishop of St Andrews, when it turns out that this *amphibalus* was the Latin or rather Greek for the *shag-cloak* of a certain abbot, which had been mistaken by some blundering monk for the proper name of a bishop ! Usser. Antiq. p. 281. Lloyd, p. 151. Dalrymple, p. 119.

† Joan. Fordun, Scotichronicon, lib. iii. ch. viii. His words are, "Ante cujus adventum, habebant Scoti fidei doctores, ac sacramentorum ministratores, presbyteros solummodo vel monachos, ritum sequentes ecclesiæ primitivæ."

‡ Balæi Scrip. Brit. apud Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 417.

Christianity. “Impelled,” says Bishop Lesley, “with an ardent desire for propagating religion, he devoted himself to the Picts, and instructed them in the way of Christ.”* According to a still more ancient authority, Simeon of Durham, “the bounds of his pastoral care embraced the whole county, from Lammermoor to Inveresk.”† “In these days,” says Bede, “people never came into a church but only for hearing the word and prayer. All the care of these Doctors was to serve God, not the world,—to feed souls, not their own bodies. Wherefore a religious habit was then much revered; and if any priest entered a village, incontinently all the people would assemble, being desirous to hear the word of life; for the priests did not go into villages upon any other occasion, except to preach, or visit the sick, or in a word—to feed souls.”‡

But only mark how our simple hermit becomes transmogrified, when viewed through monkish spectacles at the distance of some centuries. “This suffragan of St Kentigern,” says one of these chroniclers, “flourished in Lothian, in virtues and in illustrious miracles. Being eminently devout he renounced all worldly pomp, and following the example of John the Divine, resided in solitary places, and betook himself to the islands of the sea. Among these, he had recourse to one called *Bass*, where he led a contemplative life, in which, for many years, he held up to remembrance *the most blessed Kentigern his instructor*.” Then come the “illustrious miracles,” of which the following is a specimen: “There was a great rock between the said island (the Bass) and the adjacent land, which remained fixed in the middle

* Lesl. Hist. lib. iv. p. 145.

† Statistical Account, parish of Whitekirk, vol. ii. 38.

‡ Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 26. Petrie's Hist. p. 61.

of the passage, often causing shipwrecks. The blessed Baldred, moved by piety, ordered himself to be placed on this rock ; which being done, *at his nod* the rock was immediately lifted up, and like a ship driven by the wind, proceeded to the nearest shore, and thenceforth remained in the same place as a memorial of this miracle, and is to this day called St Baldred's Coble or Cock-boat."* And, indeed, we are informed by a modern writer who has made St Baldred the hero of a poem,† that a small rock at the mouth of Aldhame Bay still bears the name of *Baudron's Boat*. We have also St Baldred's Cradle, another rock, "which tradition says elegantly is rocked by the winds and the waves,"—Baldred's Well, and Baudron's (the Scotch name for Baldred's) Statue, which was demolished by "an irreverent mason." All this certainly proves the existence of such a personage, and the high repute in which he was held in that neighbourhood. But, at the risk of incurring the epithet bestowed on the iconoclastic mason, we must say, with all respect for St Baldred's *nod*, that the agency of a good sea-storm or flood-tide appears to us a more probable explanation of the cock-boat story.

St Baldred, it would seem, died on the Bass,‡ on the 6th of March in the year 606. Even at that early age, Christians had begun to pay a superstitious veneration to the relics of distinguished saints ; and the honour of having the dead body of the revered anchorite deposited among them might naturally become an object of competition among his rude and half-civilized disciples.

* Jamieson's Hist. Culdees, p. 190.

† St Baldred of the Bass, and other Poems ; by James Miller. Edin. 1824.

‡ This at least is stated by Boece, though other accounts mention Aldhame as the place of his death.

A story is told, however, relating to his burial, which, though not without its parallels in after times, bears too strong an impress of its monkish origin, to be referred so far back as the early date to which it lays claim. The legend, originating probably in some pious fraud of subsequent contrivance, "to avoid scandalous divisions," grows in pomp and circumstance even before our eyes, in the ancient records which have transmitted it. The first version of the story is very simple, being to the effect, "that the people waxing wroth, took arms, and each of them sought by force to enjoy the same; and when the matter came to issue, the said sacred body was found *all whole in three distinct places* of the house where he died; so as all the people of each village coming thither and carrying the same away, placed it in their churches, and kept it in great honour and veneration for the miracles that at each place it pleased God to work." The next version is more in accordance with the solemnity of the occasion: "The inhabitants of the three parishes which were under his charge (Aldhame, Tynningham, and Preston), as soon as they knew of his death, assembled in three different troops at Aldhame, where he breathed his last, severally begging his body. But as they could not agree among themselves, they, by the advice of a certain old man, left the body unburied, and separately betook themselves to prayer. Morning being come, they found three bodies perfectly alike, and all prepared with equal pomp for interment." So saith the Breviary of Aberdeen. Time advances, and the wonder gathering in bulk, and catching up more rubbish in its way as it rolls down the dark ages, we are informed by Hector Boece in 1526, that the three bodies were found *by the priests*, when it was hardly dawn (*sub dubiam lucem*); and that, *by orders of the*

bishop, they were conveyed, amidst the devout acclamations of the multitude, to the three neighbouring churches.* Another, improving on the miracle still farther, assures us that it was effected “by the prayers of the saint himself;” and, to crown the whole, John Major adduces it as an irrefragable proof of transubstantiation,—a doctrine, by the way, not even broached in the Church of Rome till three centuries after the death of Baldred!† This ridiculous story, fit only for the regions of romance, has been rendered into verse by the poet already referred to :

Each load was borne most pompously,
 Decked with its cross and rosary ;
 While, one by one, three corpses lay
 Like twin-brothers, transformed to clay,
 Moulded so nicely to each other,
 The eye no difference might discover.
 And as the tapers flickered dim,
 The features looked uncouth—
 They raised the sheet from Baldred’s face,
 They turned the corpses where they lay ;
 In each his features clearly trace,
 Crowned with a tuft of silvery grey.
 They deemed his bright ethereal flame,
 Which mortal form could not control,
 From heaven had held a trio frame
 To suit his zealous warmth of soul.‡

With regard to the old Chapel of the Bass, though it may mark the spot of Baldred’s humble cell, there is reason to believe that it is of comparatively modern

* H. Boeth. lib. ix. ; Dempster, Hist. Eccl. i. 65.

† Jamieson’s Culdees, 188. Bishop Lesley seems half-ashamed of the story, (De Reb. Gest. lib. iv. 145). Archdeacon Nicolson, speaking of the credulity of Boece, says, “His terrible story of a monstrous otter, which struck down oaks with its steer,—the sea-monks of the Isle of Bass,—and the wild men, who could pull up the tallest fir with as much ease as an ordinary body can root up a turnip,—are proper companions. (Scottish Hist. Library, p. 9.)

‡ St Baldred of the Bass, part i. 19, 21.

date. It would appear that this island at one time formed a parish, and that the "parish kirk in the craig of the Bass" was consecrated, in honour of St Baldred, so late as 1542, when it is more than probable the structure was first erected, under the patronage of that notorious enemy of the Reformation, Cardinal Beaton.*

Should any of our readers be curious to know the subsequent history of this Chapel, we fear they will be disappointed. All we can say about it is, that it may have been occasionally frequented as a place of worship till the Reformation. Tradition says that it was customary for the Cistercian nuns of the neighbouring abbey of North Berwick, to pay an annual pilgrimage to another old chapel in the adjacent island of Feddery, the ruins of which still remain. They may have sometimes visited the Bass chapel also. In 1544, there were twenty-two of these nuns, as we learn from a document which not one of the poor creatures was able to subscribe; each of them, from the prioress downwards, having this added to her signature by the notary, "With my hand at y^e pen."† They must have been reduced to great poverty too by this time, for their convent had been pillaged, burnt, and destroyed in 1529,‡ full thirty years before the Reformation, which has been unjustly made the scape-goat of a great many offences of this kind. Our Reformers

* The following is our authority:—"1542. The v. d. of Jany. M. Villielm Gybsone, byschop of Libariensis and Suffraganeus to Dawid Beton, Cardynall and Archebysschop of Santandros, consecrat and dedicat the paris kirk in the craig of the Bass, in honor of Sant Baldred, bysschop. and confessor, in presens of maister Jhon Lawder, arsdene in Teuidaill, noter publict." (*Extracta ex Chronicis Scocie*, p. 255. Printed by the Abbotsford Club, 1842).

† *Carte Monialium de North Berwic*, printed for the Bannatyne Club, p. 60.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 47.

were exceedingly desirous to keep up all the "kirks of the nunneries," or places of worship connected with these establishments, and to have them supplied with "qualified ministers." And it is remarkable how soon they provided all the parishes of Scotland, either with ministers or with readers, a humbler class of officials, whose duty it was to read the scriptures, and the simple prayers of Geneva prefixed to the psalms. But they had no notion of keeping up service at useless and empty shrines, where there was no population; and little did they reckon where St Baldred died, or in how many places he was buried. As the Bass, therefore, could furnish few or no hearers, we are not surprised to find in the "Buik of Assignations of the Ministers and Reidars Stipends for the year 1576," the following entry, "Bass and Auldhame neidis na reidaris."* All we can say of its future fate is comprehended in one sentence, written by Fraser of Brea in 1677: "Below the garden, there is a chapel for divine service; but in regard no minister was allowed for it, the ammunition of the garrison was kept therein." Notwithstanding this "desecration," we are informed that a "young lady, in the presence of her father, was here solemnly confirmed in her Romish faith and profession, and the due ritual services were gone through in the presence of the keeper of the Bass and his boat assistant."†

The earliest proprietors of the island on record were the ancient family of the Lauders, who from this were usually designated the Lauders of the Bass. A charter of it in favour of Robert Lauder from William de Lambert, bishop of St Andrews, dates as far back as 1316. According to Henry the Minstrel, Robert Lauder ac-

* Register of Ministers 1567, printed for Bannatyne Club, p. 74.

† Statistical Account, North Berwick, vol. ii. p. 331.

accompanied Wallace in many of his exploits. In the aisle of the lairds of the Bass, in the old church of North Berwick, a tombstone once bore the following inscription, in Latin-Saxon characters,—“ *Here lies the good Robert Lauder, the great Laird of Congalton and the Bass, who died May 1311.*” The crest they assumed from it was quite characteristic,—a solan goose sitting on a rock ; but the motto was rather a burlesque on the original, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum*.* The island continued in the possession of this ancient family for about five centuries.†

It does not, however, appear when it first began to be used as a “ strength” or fortified place. The first time we hear of it having been thus employed is in the year 1405, when it afforded a temporary retreat to James, the youngest son of Robert III., before embarking, under the guardianship of the Earl of Orkney, on that ill-fated expedition, which issued in his being taken by the English, and detained nineteen years in captivity. That even at that early period there was a castle, or some fortification on the island, is a supposition strengthened by another fact. On the return to Scotland of that young prince, now James the First, in the year 1424, we are informed that Walter Stewart, eldest son of Murdac or Murdo, Duke of Albany, who had acted as Regent, was arrested and “ *sent prisoner to the Castle of the Bass ;*”‡ and soon after, his father was committed to Carlraverock Castle, and his mother, the duchess, to Tantallan, “ places re-

* Jamieson’s Illustrations of Sleszer.

† In the Appendix to this part, the reader will find the above mentioned charter, and a full account of the family of Lauder, kindly furnished for our volume by the lineal descendant and representative of the family, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder.

‡ Leslæi Historia, lib. vii. p. 262.

mote from the seat of their feudal influence.”* This Walter Stewart was the first prisoner of the Bass that we read of in history,—a very different character, indeed, from those whom my friend Mr Anderson has introduced to the readers of this volume. He was a spoilt child, and a profligate youth, having, with his brothers, abandoned himself to every kind of licentiousness during the loose administration of his father, who, like old Eli, connived at, and ultimately suffered for, their misconduct. “The old man had a bird,” says Buchanan, “which he highly prized, of the falcon species, which Walter having often asked from his father, and having been unable to obtain, at last, in contempt, snatched from his feeble hand, and wrung off its neck. To which outrage, his father thus replied, ‘Since you cannot submit to obey me, I shall bring another, whom both you and I will be forced to obey:’ and from that time he bent his whole mind to restore his relation James.”† Within a year the father and two of his sons were beheaded at Stirling. A lively fancy might draw an affecting picture of the old duchess, as she gazed from the opposite towers of Tantallan on the ocean prison that held her wayward son, and describe her feelings as she saw him conveyed away to suffer an ignominious death. But our Scottish ladies of that period were made of sterner stuff than we are apt to imagine. “There is a report current,” says Buchanan, “although I do not find it mentioned by any historian, that the king sent the heads of her father, husband, and children, to Isabella, on purpose to try whether so violent a woman, in a paroxysm of grief, as sometimes happens, might not betray the secrets of her soul; but she, though

* Pinkerton, *Hist.* vol. i. p. 113,

† *Buch. Hist.*, lib. x. § 25.

affected at the unexpected sight, used no intemperate expressions." I have an old manuscript which records this piece of savage brutality, and adds that the old lady "said nothing, but that they worthilie died, *gif that whilk wes laid against them were trew!*"

That the Bass continued as one of the strengths or fortresses of Old Scotland, during the sixteenth century, we have abundant evidence. Boece describes it in his day (1526) "as a *castle* in Lothian, fortified by nature in the most extraordinary manner, being situated on a very high rock, more than two miles from the shore, and surrounded on every side by the sea."* In 1548, after the treaty of peace, Lesley says, the French officers, "Monsieur de Termes, de la Chapelle, and sundrie utheris capitannis, remanit still in the countrey, and travellit throughout the most pairt of the realme, visiting the situation of the townis, *the strengthis of Dumbartane, Edinburgh, Tamptallon, the Bas, Dumbar, Fast Castell, Dunnottar, Phindlatir, and many utheris, as well boith upone the coast of the eist and west seyis. They affearmed they had never sene in ony countrey so mony strengthis to natour, within ane prince's dominion, as was within the realme of Scotland.*"† The island, with its castle, appears still to have remained the private property of the Lauders. In 1581, James the Sixth paid a visit to the Bass,‡ and seems to have conceived a strong desire to obtain possession of it for

* Boece's Chronicles, as quoted by Dempster, and republished by Holinshed, chap. ix.

† Bishop Lesley's Historie, Bannatyne Club edit. p. 233.

‡ In the Treasurer's Accounts, in the reign of James VI., under the above date, is entered as paid:—

"Item, To Alexander Zoung, his Hienes servitour for his Grace's extraordinary expenses in his jorney towardis the Bass, conforme to his Hienes precept, as the samin with his acquittance producit vpon compt proportis, xl. li." (£40 : 0 : 0.)

the crown. It is said he offered the laird whatever he pleased to ask for it; upon which Lauder replied, "Your Majesty must e'en resign it to me, for I'll have the auld crag back again."* Shortly after this, however, it fell into other hands. In 1626, Charles I., for what reason we do not learn, but very likely on no better ground than his own sovereign pleasure, instituted a claim to the possession of the rock, which was destined to share the fate of many other claims made by that infatuated monarch.†

In the course of this century, there occurs a curious episode in the history of the Bass, connected with the public records of the Church of Scotland. In consequence of the English invasion under Cromwell in 1650, it was thought advisable to seek a shelter for these valuable documents in the fortress of the Bass; and in April 1651, a requisition was sent to the keeper, "that the Bass might be made secure for the registers, as it had been in a former day of calamity." And moreover, "the Laird of Wauchton, to whom that strength belongs, being personallie present, most gladlie offered to receave them, promising his outmost care to secure and preserve them from all danger." But alas! the Bass, as well as all the other "strengths" of Scotland, had to surrender to the indomitable Cromwell before that year had expired; and in April 27, 1652, his Parliament order, "That Major-General Dean cause the public Records of the Kirk, taken in the said isle (the Bass), to be packed up in cask, and sent to the Tower of London, there to remain in the same custody that the other

* History of Dunbar, by James Miller.

† Among his Instructions to the President of the Session, 10th November 1626, is the following:—"That you cause prosecute our right concerning the Bass, with all expedition, for effectuating of that end you have from us." Balfour's Annales, vol. ii. p. 150.

Records that came from Scotland are." These, it is believed, were the same records which, after travelling back to Scotland, were again conveyed to England, and perished in the conflagration which occurred in the House of Commons, October 1834.*

But in the progress of events, "the auld crag" was destined to change both masters and inmates. Having fallen into the possession, first of the Laird of Waughton, and thereafter of Sir Andrew Ramsay, Provost of Edinburgh, it was, in October 1671, purchased from the latter by Lauderdale, in the name of the Government, to become a state prison; and, as Kirkton observes, "a dear bargain it was."† The transaction is thus referred to in one of the brochures of that period:—"Sir Andrew Ramsay, having neither for a just price, nor by the fairest means, got a title to a bare insignificant rock in the sea, called the Bass, and to a public debt, both belonging to the Lord of Wachton; my Lord Lauderdale, to gratifie Sir Andrew, moves the king, upon the pretence of this public debt, and that the Bass was a place of strength (like to a castle in the moon), and of great importance (the only nest of solan geese in these parts), to buy the rock from Sir Andrew at the rate of £4000 sterling, and then obtains the command and profits of it, amounting to more than £100 sterling yearly, to be bestowed upon himself."‡

* *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, (Bannatyne edition), vol. iii.; Preface, 6; Appendix, 30.

† *Kirkton's History*, by Sharpe, p. 361.

‡ *An Accompt of Scotland's Grievances*, by reason of the Duke of Lauderdale's Ministrie, p. 18. Sir George Mackenzie, commenting on this transaction between Lauderdale and Ramsay, who at the same time "obtained 200 lib. sterling per annum settled upon the Provost of Edinburgh," observes, "Thus they were kind to one another upon his Majesty's expenses," *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 247.

Lauderdale thus became, among his many other titles of honour, "Captain of the Bass." "But," says honest Kirkton, "the use the king made of it was, to make it a prison for the Presbyterian ministers; and some of them thought, when they died in the prison (as Mr John Blackadder did), they glorified God in the islands. But it became a rule of practice among that sort of people, whenever any of them was called before the Councill, that either they behoved to satisfie the bishop, which never ane of them did, or else goe to the Bass; so all of them refused to appear; and our governors expected no more respect or obedience to their summons."*

Having now brought down the history of the Bass Castle to the time when it was devoted to this base use, let us endeavour to transport ourselves back to the days when this Rock, now the undisputed abode of the wild birds of the ocean, was the Patmos of so many godly men, and when these walls, now mouldering into decay, formed their dungeon.

The reign of persecution has commenced—a persecution which, in various respects, stands without a parallel in the history of the Church. The parties were Protestants; and, with the exception of the partial doings of Elizabeth and Laud, it may be said to have enjoyed the unenviable distinction of being the only *bona fide* instance of Protestant persecution on record. The career of the Romish Church has been so marked with blood, that we are no more surprised at the recital of her atrocities, than at those of a beast of prey; while, on hearing of Protestants embruing their hands in the blood of martyrs, we are shocked and startled as at the murderous deeds of the frenzied maniac. To look

* Kirkton's Hist., p. 361.

upon the struggle merely as the result of a mad attempt, on the one hand, to enforce Prelacy on an unwilling people, and of a bigoted adherence, on the other hand, to the Presbyterian polity, is to take, not only a superficial and unphilosophical, but a most erroneous view of the matter. True, the contending parties may be ranged under the general distinction of Prelatists and Presbyterians ; but in the prosecution of the crusade against the latter, there was a combination of the elements of evil, and an exhibition of the darkest and the meanest passions of our nature, seldom if ever equalled. Presbytery, no doubt, was never a favourite with our Scottish rulers, from the time that it began to assert the supremacy of Christ as the Head of the Church, and the consequent independence of the courts of his house. Yet it admits of being demonstrated, that it was not the government but the godliness of Presbytery, not the mere form of its polity but the fidelity of its moral discipline, that rendered it odious to those in power. It is said that James the Sixth never forgave the rough handling of his barons at the Raid of Ruthven, and more especially the speech of the Master of Glamis, when placing his foot at the door to prevent the egress of the weeping young monarch, he said, " It is no matter of his tears : better that bairns should weep than bearded men." And there is good reason for thinking that he would sooner forget the rude shaking of his sleeve by Andrew Melville, when he called him " God's silly vassal," than he would the faithful rebukes of the princely Robert Bruce, before whom he trembled as a naughty urchin under the rod of his teacher. That his dissolute grandson, Charles Second, had his eye more on the unaccommodating discipline of Presbytery, than on the plain-

ness of its ritual, when he pronounced it "not a fit religion for a gentleman,"* it would be equally easy to prove. Nor need it be matter of surprise that our proud nobility and gentry, bred up with all the ideas of feudal dignity and importance, should have winced under a regimen which bore with equal pressure on them and the meanest of their dependents. By these classes, and by the great bulk of the community, which then as well as now, though nominally Christian, had not been brought under the sanctifying influence of the truth, the Restoration must have been hailed as a happy relief from all moral restraint. In the Prelatic Church of Charles, there was not (as, indeed, how could there be under such a Head?) any ecclesiastic discipline. It was the age of political thralldom and moral libertinism. The Church was powerless for good, and contented herself with shaking her palsied arm in the faces of a few unfortunate witches. The irreligious and profane, formerly the objects of her discipline, remained unmolested; while all the power of the Church, transferred to the civil government, was bent against the pious and the faithful.

With this prevailing current of prejudice against god-

* As a specimen of the "gentlemanly" spirit of Charles' friends, the following trick, practised by the Lord Advocate on an Edinburgh merchant, Robert Gray, who was brought before the Council, on the accusation of a worthless woman, as a harbourer of the Presbyterian ministers, may be given. Gray refused to implicate any; upon which the advocate took his ring from his finger, on pretence of looking at it, and sent it to his wife, instructing the messenger to tell her that her husband had discovered all he knew, and desired her to do the same, in token of which he had sent his ring. The consequence was, that Mrs Gray made disclosures which involved some excellent ladies in town; on hearing of which her husband sickened and died. One of these ladies, a minister's widow, was actually threatened with the torture of the boots, which were laid before her. She stood resolute, and would have suffered had not Rothes interposed, and, in his jeering way, remarked to the Council, that *it was not proper for ladies to wear boots.*

liness, there was conjoined, in the case of some of the persecutors, all the bitterness of partisans, and the malignity of self-convicted apostates ; and these feelings, meeting like two conflicting tides, were chafed into absolute fury by the opposition made to their measures on the part of those with whom they had once co-operated, and whose testimonies to the truth, held up before them as they sat on the bench, and sealed by death on the scaffold, must have rung in their ears like the voice of the accusing angel before the throne of Heaven. In no other way can we account for the atrocious conduct of Sharpe and his brother prelates. But these feelings of guilty consciousness appear to have been shared, more or less, by the whole of the unprincipled junto to whom the administration of affairs in our country was then entrusted ; and they were exasperated, in no small degree, by the high ground which the martyrs assumed. Unlike the Hugonots of France, who sought only toleration for their religion, the Covenanters of Scotland pled for the ascendancy of theirs, and that, not only on the ground of its intrinsic truth, but on what their enemies must have felt much more keenly, “ even as a sword in their bones,” on the ground of the national pledge in the Covenant, which they had perfidiously violated, and ignominiously burnt.

Another feature, pre-eminently visible in this persecution, was its cool unprincipled villany. Under the pretext of fines and confiscations for treason, this bloated vampire sat for twenty-eight years fattening on the spoil, and sucking the blood of a prostrate nation. A spirit of insatiable avarice, too ravenous to think of concealing itself, seized on all the functionaries of Government, from the bench of justice, where

Lauderdale sat with an indulgence in his pocket, chuckling at the gentlemen brought before him to pay their fines for accession to conventicles, and crying, "Now, gentlemen, ye know the price of a conventicle, and shame fall them that tires first;" down to the military ruffian, who, on being asked by the gentleman he was robbing, why he was thus treated, replied, "Because ye have gear, and I maun ha' a share o't." Add to all this, the total perversion of justice, by converting acts of religion into acts of treason—the employment of spies and informers—imprisonment for years without any cause being assigned or crime substantiated—witnesses suborned—juries packed, and browbeaten into a verdict against their conscience,—tortures inflicted with the view of inculcating the prisoner or his friends,—confessions made upon security of the public faith and the king's honour, and afterwards shamelessly adduced upon oath against the criminal,—multitudes indicted, tried, and executed upon the same day, and intercessions met with the reply, that "they should have no time to prepare for heaven, for hell was too good for them,"—drums ordered to be beat at the execution, to drown the dying words of the martyrs; and the least expression of sympathy in the crowd, exposing the individual to be dragged to the scaffold, with other traits too tedious even to enumerate. Such a scene of complicated villany and cruelty, under mask of law, it is believed, has never been surpassed.

In fine, Popery,—as if it could not be absent from a scene so congenial to its spirit,—Popery, in the person of James, Duke of York, afterwards James VII., must lend its aid to finish the tragedy. This personage, himself the greatest criminal in the kingdom, must stigmatise the Presbyterians as caitiffs, not fit for hu-

man converse, and propose to eradicate them entirely ; affirming withal, that “it never would be well with Scotland till all the country on the south of the Forth were made a hunting field.” And, truly, what with leaving them to be butchered in the open fields by his soldiers without form or process of law,—transporting them as slaves to Virginia, and occasionally scuttling a ship on its passage, and thus saving the expense of the freight by drowning the passengers wholesale,—he bade fair soon to realise his expectations.

Base and barbarous as these measures were, we form a very inadequate idea of the misery they occasioned, if we look no farther than the victims who suffered under them, to the spoiling of their goods or the loss of their lives. These were comparatively few, and honour to their memory ! But what shall we think of the multitudes, who, to escape these sufferings, “made shipwreck of the faith and a good conscience,” by swearing illegal and ensnaring oaths, renouncing the Covenant, and owning the usurped authority of the King in the matters of God ? The moral and spiritual mischief thus wrought is not so easily calculated ; but the melancholy truth is, that in this way the consciences of entire districts of the country were debauched, in consequence of which the public spirit of Scotland was broken, and losing the self-respect that attends conscious integrity, as she would, but for England, have lain at the feet of the despot, so she was hardly able, even after her deliverance at the Revolution, to assert her just rights, either in Church or State.

For the stringent and sanguinary enactments passed against conventicles,* a poor plea may be set up on the

* These will be found noticed in the Introduction to the “Martyrs of the Bass.”

ground of maintaining the public peace ; but these execrable bonds imposed on the consciences of good men, admit of not the shadow of apology. Yet were they enforced with the most unrelenting severity. When a deputation of the gentlemen of the west waited on the Council, protesting their loyalty, but petitioning against this imposition, Burnet informs us that “ this put Duke Lauderdale in such a frenzy, that at the Council table, he made bare his arms above his elbows, and swore by Jehovah, that he would make them enter into these bonds !” Now, if we take into view, what is not generally known, that at this time our rulers were so conscious the public mind had been thoroughly vitiated by false swearing, that they passed a law rendering parole evidence inadmissible in civil matters affecting property,—what are we to think of these same men imposing their bonds on others, who, they well knew, “ feared an oath” so much that some of them, even to save themselves from death, would scruple to say “ God save the king,” lest this should be understood to involve them in the guilt of perjury ! The meshes of the legal net were admirably contrived to catch the good fish, and allow the bad to escape.

Some have represented these odious impositions as a just retaliation on the Presbyterians for having, in their day of power, enforced the Covenant. But, without vindicating that step, we can hardly suppose that any candid person would seriously state a comparison between the two cases. The Jews were far mistaken when “ their fear of God was taught by the commandment of men ;” but how different was this from “ compelling the Christians to blaspheme ?” Among those who may have taken the Covenant against their will, how few could say that they had taken it against

their conscience? How much fewer, that they had suffered for refusing to take it? And, however far wrong it may have been to urge the irreligious to come under an engagement to maintain a profession which they disliked (which was very rarely done), can this for a moment be compared with forcing a conscientious people to forswear themselves, by renouncing a solemn obligation which they had voluntarily incurred?

To return from this digression, we may now observe that, among the other methods of extermination to which the enemies of the Presbyterians resorted, one of the most effectual, and least merciful, was imprisonment. In these days, the deprivation of personal liberty formed the most tolerable portion of the prisoner's doom. Immured in cells of the most diminutive proportions, and often crowded to excess,—in living sepulchres, from which both light and air were systematically excluded, and where damp and cold, the *squalor carceris*, and every species of discomfort, were considered essential parts of the punishment,—multitudes, it may be easily believed, perished, unpitied and unknown, in these frightful abodes, under the hands of brutal jailors, and amidst untold privations. But, at the time we write of, all the prisons and tolbooths of Scotland were filled to overflowing; it was found necessary to provide more accommodation for the increasing numbers of delinquents; and the Bass, from its proximity to the capital, its security, and perhaps its dignity as a castle, was selected as a fitting receptacle for the leading men, and more especially the Presbyterian ministers.

A slight survey of the ruins of the fortress, as they now stand in naked desolation, is sufficient to corroborate the testimonies of the prisoners, and to shew that

they had little reason to congratulate themselves on the selection of their marine prison-house. Placed near the base of the overhanging precipice, it must have formed a sort of tank or reservoir for the perpetual drippings from above, while it was washed by the spray from the ocean below, and entitled by exposure to the full benefit of the eastern blasts. What is still pointed out by some as "Blackadder's cell," is a dormitory about seven feet by eight, situated on the ramparts, with a small window facing the south. If so, he was better appointed than his brethren in the inner prison, the remains of which, though unroofed and unfloored, may be still traced. On a late visit to the ruins, I was struck by observing, that in the western gable of this room is one small window which had served for light, but which is placed at such a height above the floor that the prisoners could see neither earth nor sky from it; while in the eastern gable, there is another window placed at a lower elevation, but so contrived that it had looked only into a narrow passage, formed by a wall built up against it, and enlightened by a higher aperture in that wall. By this piece of ingenious cruelty, the poor prisoners within would be furnished with a dim and borrowed light, and at the same time prevented from beguiling their captivity by gazing "on mountain, tower, or town," or even on that heaven to which all their hopes were turned, and the straggling beams of which were so scantily afforded them. At the same time, the sentries or keepers might at any time, by creeping along this passage, manage, through the inner grating, to observe the movements, and hear the conversations of their prisoners. There can be no question regarding "the lowest cell in the dungeon," to which Thomas Hog of Kiltarn was consigned, through the tender mercies of

Archbishop Sharp. An arched stair-case, part of which still remains, leads down under ground from the east end of the castle, to what was anciently called the Bastion, on arriving at which, the visitor finds himself in a hideous cavern, arched over-head, dank and dripping, with an opening towards the sea which dashes within a few feet below. It was in this "horrible pit," then, obviously the "dungeon-keep" of the old castle in the days of its glory, that the good man was deposited; and no wonder that when his enfeebled frame was dragged down that subterranean passage, and stretched in this dismal den, he should have concluded that his enemies had done their worst,—had reached the end of their chain,—and that the deepening darkness of the night betokened the near approach of the dawn.*

But let us hear the description of the rock, as given by one of the sufferers themselves, Mr Fraser of Brea:—"The Bass is a very high rock in the sea, two miles distant from the nearest point of the land which is south of it; covered it is with grass on the uppermost parts thereof, where is a garden where herbs grow, with some cherry-trees, of the fruit of which I several times tasted. Below which garden there is a chapel for divine service; but in regard no minister was allowed for it, the ammunition of the garrison was kept therein. Landing here is very difficult and dangerous; for if any storm blow ye cannot enter, because of the violence of the swelling waves, which beat with a wonderful noise upon the rock, and sometimes in such a violent manner, that the broken waves, reverberating on the rock with a mighty force, have come up the walls of the garrison, on the court before the prisoners' chambers, which is above twenty cubits height: and with a

* See the Martyrs of the Bass, p. 191.

full sea must you land ; or if it be ebb, you must be either cranned up, or climb with hands and feet up some steps artificially made on the rock, and must have help besides of those who are on the top of the rock, who pull you up by the hand. Nor is there any place of landing but one about the whole rock, which is of circumference some three quarters of a mile. Here may you land in a fair day and full sea without great hazard, the rest of it on every side being so high and steep. Only on the south side thereof the rock falls a little level, where you ascend several steps till you come to the governor's house, and from that some steps higher you ascend to a level court, where a house for prisoners and soldiers is ; whence likewise, by windings cut out of the rock, there is a path leading you to the top of the rock, whose height doth bear off all north, east and west storms, lying open only to the south : and on the uppermost parts of the rock there is grass sufficient to feed twenty or twenty-four sheep, which are there very fat and good. In these uppermost parts of the rock were sundry walks of some threescore foot length, and some very solitary, where we sometimes entertained ourselves. The accessible places were defended with several walls, and cannon placed on them, which compassed only the south parts. The rest of the rock is defended by nature, by the huge height and steepness of the rock, being some forty cubits high in the lowest place. It was a part of a country gentleman's inheritance, which falling from hand to hand, and changing many masters, it was at last bought by the king, who repaired the old houses and walls, and built some new houses for prisoners ; and a garrison of twenty or twenty-four soldiers therein are sufficient, if courageous, to de-

fend it from millions of men, and only expugnable by hunger.”*

Such was the “melancholy place” selected by government as a state-prison, and in which some forty good men, whose biographies are given in this volume, were incarcerated, during periods varying from a few months to upwards of six years! The rigour of their confinement was enhanced by the most vexatious and arbitrary treatment on the part of their keepers.† The liberty of taking air and exercise on the hill was often wantonly denied them, or obtained as a great favour by the intercession of a friend. “My lord M’Leod, coming from his travels, went to see the Bass, and procured some more liberty to Mr M’Gilligen, so *that at some times he was permitted to come out upon the rock.*”‡ “The Bass,” says one of Blackadder’s sons, “was a base, cold, unwholesome prison; all their rooms ordinarily full of smoke, like to suffocate and choke them, so as my father and the other prisoners were necessitate many a time to *thrust head and shoulders out of the windows to recover breath.* They were obliged to drink the twopenny ale of the governor’s brewing, scarcely worth a halfpenny the pint, and several times were sore put to it for want of victual for ten or twelve days together; the boats not daring to venture to them by reason of stormy weather.”§ No wonder that in such a place, and under such treatment,

* Memoirs of the Rev. James Fraser, (Wodrow Society edition,) pp. 344, 345. The reader may compare the above description with the old sketch of “The Bass in its Fortified State, 1690,” inserted at the end of the present dissertation, which is taken from Slezer’s Illustrations.

† See some account of this in “The Martyrs of the Bass,” pp. 114–116.

‡ Wodrow’s History, vol. ii. p. 335.

§ Crichton’s Memoirs of John Blackadder, p. 296.

many of them contracted diseases which embittered and shortened their lives.

But, as the old poet sings :—

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage ;
A spotless mind and innocent
Calls that an hermitage.*

From within these now deserted walls, the voice of praise and prayer might be often heard, mingling with the ribald laughter, oaths, and songs of the reckless sentinels ; and the souls of the captives were borne, on the wings of holy meditation, far aloft and away from the dreary rock within which their bodies were pent. “ Every day,” says Fraser, “ I read the scriptures, exhorted and taught therefrom, did sing psalms, and prayed with such of our society as our masters did permit to worship God together, and this two times a-day. I studied Hebrew and Greek, and gained some knowledge in these oriental languages. I likewise read some divinity, and wrote a Treatise of Faith, with some other miscellanies, and some letters to Christian friends and relations. Thus I spent my time, and not without some fruit.” Yes, indeed, “ not without some fruit !” And who can peruse that “ Treatise of Faith,” breathing, with some unsoundness in its theology, so much sound sense and orthodox piety,—and then look at its date, “ Bass, July 9. 1679,”—without being impressed with the utter impotence of persecution to crush the spirit or intermeddle with the joy of the Christian martyr ? “ Since I was a prisoner,” says another of them, “ I dwelt at ease, and lived securely. The upper springs flowed liberally and sweetly, when the nether springs were embittered, and I have had the experience

* Richard Lovelace, 1639.

of that saying, *Tanta est dulcedo cœlestis gaudii, ut si una guttula deflueret in infernum, totam amaritudinem inferni absorberet.*"*

Here the question must start to the lips of every reader, For what cause were such men thrown into prison and thus treated? For no other cause, we reply, but their fidelity to their engagements, and their attachment to Scotland's covenanted reformation. With four exceptions, all the prisoners confined in the Bass were pious and peaceable Presbyterians, against whom no crime could be charged, save in the matters of their God. These exceptions consisted of a quaker, charged with disorderly conduct—a popish priest imprisoned for some cause we have not discovered—a curate, whose zeal against the test seems to have carried him beyond the bounds of the usual moderation of his class,—and a culprit, whose name is included in the list of the martyrs merely because the crime he committed, and the sufferings he underwent, illustrated the spirit of the times—we mean, James Mitchell, who attempted to assassinate Sharp. "Misery," it is said, "acquaints a man with strange bed-fellows." But with these exceptions, the rest were either laymen of the most respectable station in society; or clergymen, who would hardly have owned as true ministers of Christ their mitred persecutors, or the curates they had intruded into their pulpits; and who had much sounder reasons for questioning the commission under which they acted, than for laying down their own at the bidding of such worthless satraps of the State. The immediate and ostensible

* "Such is the sweetness of heaven's joy, that were the least drop of it to fall into hell, it would absorb all the bitterness of hell." Mr M'Gilligen, Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 335.

ground of their suffering, was the right which they claimed to preach the everlasting gospel, without submitting to conditions inconsistent with their allegiance to the King of Zion. Nor could their enemies charge them, even on the arbitrary interpretation of law which they applied to the case of others, with holding disloyal principles. Only two of them—Gordon and Shields—belonged to what has been called the Cameronian party. With these two exceptions, they all owned the lawfulness of the civil government, and submitted (too slavishly perhaps) to the authority of the king in all civil matters. They denied his jurisdiction only in matters pertaining to conscience and to the church. They gave unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and to God the things that were God's.* While they condemned and deplored the public violation of the covenant by all classes, they disapproved of all violent, tumultuous, or unconstitutional methods for reviving or re-enforcing that deed. In short, they were the most moderate, though, at the same time firm and uncompromising, of the Presbyterian clergy at that period.

Devoted to such a purpose, it might be supposed that the Bass Rock, garrisoned as it was by a rude and licentious soldiery, bristling with cannon, and frowning defiance on the surrounding coast, might have kept its immediate neighbourhood, at least, in a state of deferential submission. Let the following scene show the error of such a supposition, and the utter inefficiency of the measures then pursued for repressing the spirit of our pious forefathers.—On the fifth of May 1678,

* In fact, the generality of the Presbyterians at that period, understood their privileges as Christians better than their rights as subjects; and were disposed, in civil things, to give to Cæsar something more than his due.

being Sabbath, a large assembly of people, amounting to a thousand or thereby, met on the hills of Whitekirk, immediately opposite the Bass, within sight of the garrison, and almost within range of its guns. It was soon discovered to be a conventicle ! Indignant at what he considered an insult at once to Government and to himself, the deputy-governor, Charles Maitland, sallied out with forty soldiers, and some country-people whom they forced along with them, and boldly approached the obnoxious assemblage. Before they came up, a young man on horseback, named James Learmonth, was observed riding among the people, and saying, " Let there be no cowards here this day, sirs, and let those who have arms go out foremost." On the approach of the soldiers the people sat close together, and when required to dismiss in the king's name, one of them replied, " that they honoured the king, but were resolved to hear the word of God when preached to them." Upon this, one of the soldiers struck at the man, but he was immediately felled to the ground by the staff of a strong-bodied countryman. A scuffle ensued, in the course of which one of the soldiers was unfortunately shot, and the rest having been surrounded and disarmed, betook themselves to flight. For having been present at this conventicle, James Learmonth, though he was proved to have been unarmed, was condemned, after the jury had been thrust back into the box for the third time to amend their verdict, and threatened with an assize of error ; and he was beheaded in the Grassmarket, on the 27th of September following. Before his execution, he calmly protested his innocence—disavowed the charge of sedition and disloyalty—exhorted the people to submission to the king and magistrates in all their just and lawful com-

mands ; and declared his adherence to the work of the Reformation, and his testimony against “ the unjust usurpation of the crown of Jesus Christ, and putting it upon the head of a mortal man whose breath is in his nostrils.” He also declared his firm hope, that “ though it please the Lord to let them triumph and insult for a time, yet he will defend and revive his own work, and the spirits of his own oppressed remnant also in these barren places ; and that the seed of the gospel that hath been sown in East Lothian shall have a spring season and a harvest, in spite of devils and men, to the glory of God, and the comfort of his own people.”*

The scene shifts to the tenth of December 1688.—Beacons may be observed on the Bass, North Berwick Law, and other adjacent heights, erected by the Scottish Council on their first alarm of the invasion of the Prince of Orange, at the firing of which all fencible persons were to turn out and meet at Haddington for the defence of the kingdom. But the Prince has landed in England, the government of James has fallen without a struggle, and the beacons remain unkindled. The inhabitants of Edinburgh have risen this day in a tumult, and have offered four hundred pounds for the Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, dead or alive. Meanwhile, a small suspicious-looking sloop may be observed making its way down the Firth. That vessel contains the obnoxious Earl, who, taking the alarm, has embarked at Burntisland for France, “ with all imaginable secrecy, himself in woman’s habit, and his wife in man’s apparel,”—a sad plight for the Popish Chancellor, who had ridden rough-shod for so many years over the

* Fountainhall’s Decisions, vol. i. p. 13 ; Wodrow’s History, vol. ii. p. 476 ; Naphtali, pp. 414–424.

liberties and religion of his country. Following hard in the wake of the sloop is a light war-boat, manned with thirty-six bold sailors, fully armed, under the command of one Wilson, who had once been a buccaneer. These are the Kirkcaldy seamen, who having obtained intelligence of the prize aboard the vessel as it passed their harbour, are in hot pursuit after the fugitive Earl. As they approach the Bass, the hardy sailors close upon their prey, and just opposite that castle of which Perth was the governor, and into which he had committed so many of our worthies, he is seized in his disguise, ignominiously brought back to Kirkcaldy, and thrown, like a common felon, into the prison.*

Again the scene changes. The rock, after holding out under Charles Maitland, the deputy-governor, in the name of the exiled king, till 1690, is surrendered into the hands of the new government; but, strangely enough, it falls again into the temporary possession of the adherents of James. A few daring young officers who had been taken prisoners at Cromdale, and had been sent to the Bass, formed a plan for surprising the place, which succeeded. Being supplied with provisions by their friends on shore, and receiving reinforcements from abroad, they contrived, with a prowess and perseverance worthy of a better cause, to keep their ground for several years. They plundered various merchant vessels; made all of them pay tribute that came within reach of their guns; and craning up their boats to the rock, bade defiance to all attempts to dislodge them. One Mr Trotter having been condemned to be hanged for conveying to them supplies, they discharged

* Crawford's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. i. p. 234; *History of the late Revolution*, p. 26; Wodrow's *History*, vol. ii. p. 464; Balcarras' *Memoirs*.

a gun-shot among the crowd met to witness his execution at Castleton, opposite the island, which dispersed them, though it did not prevent the execution at a different place. The siege cost Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, the new governor, a vast amount of trouble and expense. At length, irritated at the pertinacity of the rebels, William dispatched two ships of war, which, aided by smaller vessels, cut off their supplies, and reduced them to the necessity of capitulating in April 1694. The governor, it is said, "who had saved some bottles of the best French wine and brandy, and some fine biscuit, made the commissioners sent to treat with him drink plentifully, telling them there was no scarcity of provisions, and unless he had his own terms he would not surrender; and after they were gone, he ordered all the caputs, coats, and hats, in the garrison, to be put on the muzzles of muskets, to make them believe the place was full of men; upon which their lordships returned to the Council, and reported how they were treated, which induced them to comply with the governor's articles."* Thus the Bass had the distinction of being the last place that held out for James in Scotland. After the surrender, an order was given to the commander-in-chief to demolish all the fortifications and buildings of the Bass, and to remove the cannon and ammunition; an order which, not having been punctually fulfilled at the time, was finally carried into execution by the command of King William in 1701.†

The Revolution has come, and with it another gene-

* *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. iii. p. 35.

† In 1706, the Bass was granted by the Crown to President Sir Hew Dalrymple, reserving the power of re-fortifying it should this be deemed expedient; and it remains the property of his lineal descendant, Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, Baronet.

ration has sprung up that has lost the spirit, as they knew not "the afflictions of Joseph." A marked difference may be observed even in the immediate descendants of the Covenanters. Adam Blackadder, the second son of the martyr of the Bass, followed the mercantile profession. He seems to have been a man of the world, and a wag, making merry at the remembrance of the hardships to which, in early youth, he was subjected on his father's account. Provost Russell of Stirling arrested him when he was an apprentice. "The first word he spake to me," says Adam, "was, putting on his breeches, 'Is not this bra' wark, sirr, that we maun be troubled with the like of you?' I answered, You have got a bra' prize, my Lord, that has clacht a poor prentice." Then, when in prison, "the Earl of Argyle's two daughters-in-law, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta, and Lady Jean, his own daughter, did me the honour to come and see me; when I remember, Lady Sophia stood up on a bench and arraigned before her the Provost of Stirling, then sentenced and condemned him to be hanged for keeping me in prison; which highly enraged the poor fool provost, though it was but a harmless frolic." Even when reciting a visit he paid to his father in the Bass, he does it more in the spirit of mirth than of martyrdom. "We went from that to the Bass, where my worthy father was lying prisoner, and had been there for some years. When we were going away (my father convoying us to the gate), the governor bid me halt a little; he had something to say to me ere I went. 'What's the matter?' says I. 'You must hold up your hand and swear.' 'Ou,' says I, 'who empowered you to be a judge, and impose oaths?' 'I have my orders,' says he. My father (who was a bold man), overhear-

ing him, said, 'I protest, governor, you are impertinent, sir, to trouble the young man with any thing of that nature.' To which the governor answered, 'I profess, Mr Blackadder, sir, I'll commit both you and him close prisoners, if I hear any more of your talk.' 'Content,' says my father; and then says to me, 'Come along with me, sir!' I thought with myself, 'I beg your pardon, father,—not so long as I can do better.' Then I began to argue the matter with the governor, by telling him I was an utter stranger as to affairs in Scotland, and knew nothing about what was passing, which calmed him a little. At last, he says, 'Well, sir, I will not trouble you at this time; but, I assure you, I have such orders, and that, perhaps, you will find ere you come the length of Edinburgh; for every sergeant and corporal may stop and challenge any man on the road.' So I thanked him and came off, and went for Edinburgh."*

The same scene was revisited by his brother with more serious feelings. On the 21st of April 1713, a grave, military-looking man, might have been observed standing by the sea-beach of Dunbar, his eyes intently fixed in the direction of the Bass. This is Colonel John Blackadder, the youngest son of the same worthy sufferer, "a brave soldier and a devout Christian." He had entered the army in 1689, as cadet in the Cameronian Regiment; had distinguished himself in Queen Anne's wars, under the great Duke of Marlborough; and now, disgusted with the licentiousness of the camp, he has returned to his native country, and has reached Dunbar on his way home to spend a peaceful life as an elder of the kirk of Scotland. The solitary rock where his venerable father had languished

* Crichton's *Memoirs of John Blackadder*, pp. 328-338.

and died in captivity, and which, it appears, he had then visited occasionally on errands of filial duty and affection, stands within a few miles of that town. This naturally attracted his attention ; yet, even in the pious reflections to which the sight of it gave birth, we may observe that his mind, with a devout egotism common to many other good men of the period, was turned less to the public cause in which his father suffered, than to the workings of his own personal experience. “ In the evening,” says he, “ I stepped out, and walked towards the sea-side, in sight of the Bass Island, which occasioned serious thoughts, and a thankful frame of mind, to think of the long train of mercy and goodness that has followed me these many years since I was there, when there was far from any appearance or expectation of such things as Providence has now done for me.”* The good Colonel was a type of the incipient moderatism of the last century—a well-living, well-meaning gentleman—himself sound as a bell in the faith, but impatient of all “ heats and discords,” “ shunning extremes on either hand,” and who had seen so little religion of any sort in the army, that he could ill brook to see good men striving about it in the Church. So he would sometimes stand up erect in the church courts, and deliver pithy orations, plentifully interlarded with regimental maxims, sadly to the annoyance of “ the hot stiff men on both sides,” telling the Venerable Assembly that “ they should not spend their fire upon one another,”—that “ they should not be like a general or an army that sends out all its sentries one way, and while they are looking out sharply that way, the enemy comes and attacks them in a different quarter, where they are not expecting, and therefore un-

* Orichton's Life of Lieutenant-Colonel Blackadder, p. 436.

prepared." In short, he begins to talk very much like a latitudinarian, and "thinks religion runs greatly in the wrong channel, and may be called Presbyterianism rather than Christianity,—strict opinions in the head about public things, and oftentimes about doubtful points, where good men are on both sides; while the influences of it do not go through the conduct of their lives, in universal obedience and charity." Had all in the Assembly been as good Christians as Colonel Blackadder, his reflections would have been more appropriate; but it was not in such a do-nothing school that he had first learned to pray, as it was not by following such pacific tactics that he had learned to fight. The policy which he recommended, and which subsequently became predominant, issued in the burial of vital truth and piety. By skinning over the wounds of the Church, it left them to fester within. Partial revivals were followed by long periods of spiritual decay; and the Christianity of the Scottish Church has only revived with the revival of her Presbyterianism.

But our hurried sketch approaches its close. Last spring, a small party of friends projected an excursion to the Bass. Differing in their pursuits and in their religious persuasions, they agreed in respect for departed worth, in gratitude for present privileges, and in dislike of all feudal tyranny, ancient or modern, whether it appear in the form of open persecution, or in the kindred but more covert shape of refusing "rights of way" and sites for worship. Arrived at their destination, each betook himself to his respective sphere of observation; and aided by suggestions on the spot, the combined fruit of their investigations is presented to the public in the present volume.

APPENDIX.

I. THE LAUDERS OF THE BASS. P. [12.]

WE are indebted to the kindness of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder for the use of the old Charter of the Bass, granted by the Bishop of St Andrews to his ancestor Robert Lauder of the Bass in 1316. As a curious relic of antiquity in connection with the subject of this volume, we insert it here with a translation.

CHARTER of WILLIELMUS DE LAMBERTON, Bishop of St Andrews, to ROBERT LAUDER of Bass, of their part of that Island, 4th June 1316.

Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel audituris Willielmus misericordie diuinae sancti Andrei Episcopus salutem in Domino: Sciatis nos utilitate ecclesie nostre pensata dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Roberto de Lanwedre pro homagio et seruicio suo totam partem nostram Insule in mari que vocatur le Bass iuxta Aldham in Laudonia; Tenend. et habend. dicto Roberto et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris in perpetuum cum omnibus libertatibus commoditatibus et aysiammentis suis ac pertinentiis libere et quiete in omnibus et per omnia sine aliquo retinemento; Reddendo ipse Robertus et heredes sui nobis et successoribus nostris apud Tynnyngham ad festum Pentecostes singulis annis vnam libram cere nomine albe firme tantum pro omnibus terrenis seruiciis et demandis que de dicta Insula cum pertinentiis a nobis vel successori-

Translation of Charter by WILLIAM of LAMBERTON, Bishop of St Andrews, to ROBERT LAUDER of Bass, of their part of that Island, 4th June 1316.

To ALL men by whom this Charter shall be seen and heard, William, by the grace of God Bishop of Saint Andrews, wishing salvation in the Lord:— Know ye that we, valuing highly our Church's advantage, have Granted, and by this our present Charter have Confirmed, to Robert Lauder for his homage and service the whole of our part of the Island in the sea which is called the Bass, near to Aldham* in Lothian; To HOLD and TO BE HOLDEN by the said Robert and his heirs from us and our successors for ever, with all liberties, commodities, and easements, and with the pertinents, freely and quietly in all and by all without any reservation; Paying therefor the said Robert and his heirs to us and our successors at Tynnyngham, at the term of Whitsunday yearly, one pound of white wax in name of feufarm, for all lands, services, and demands which can be exacted or demand-

* Aldham was an original parish and is now part of Whitekirk parish. The church of Aldham is on the confines of North Berwick parish, and adjoining to Tantallan Castle. Stat. Acct. vol. ii. p. 29.

bus nostris exigi poterunt vel demandari Nos vero Willielmus et successores nostri predicto Roberto et heredibus suis predictam partem nostram Insule del Bass cum pertinenciis suis contra omnes homines et feminas warantigabimus acquietabimus et defendemus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte sigillum nostrum fecimus apponi. Dat, apud Wedgall quarto die Junii Anno Domini mccc. sexto decimo illis testibus Dominis Willielmo et Willielmo dei gracia de Melros et de Dryburgh, Abbatibus Dominis Jacobo de Douglas, Alexandro Senescallo, Henrico de Sancto Claro, Roberto de Keith, militibus et aliis.

ed by us and our successors for the said Island with the pertinents: THEREFORE we William and our successors do hereby Warrant, Maintain quiet, and Defend to the foresaid Robert and his heirs, our foresaid part of the Island of the Bass with the pertinents of the same, for ever, and that against all men and women: IN TESTIMONY whereof, we have made and appointed our seal to be fixed to this present Charter. Given at Wedall the fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord 1316, before these witnesses Lords William and William by the grace of God of Melrose and of Dryburgh, with the Lords Abbots, James of Douglas, Alexander Stuart, Henry Sinclair, Robert Keith, Esquires, and others.

The following Letter will throw some additional light on the history of the family of Lauder :—

SIR THOMAS DICK LAUDER of Fountainhall, Bart., to
MR CRAWFORD, W.S.

THE GRANGE HOUSE, 18th December 1847.

DEAR SIR,—It has occurred to me that it may be just as well to put you in possession of the fact, that the family of Lauder of Lauder Tower and the Bass, continued to be the same until the time of the Indenture I sent you. The Bass then went into a junior branch of the family, and, as the shortest way of explaining this, I may quote from the Burke Peerage and Baronetage the matter taken from our family documents :—“ Sir Robert Lauder of Bass, so designed in a curious indenture between him and the preaching friars of Dundee, of date 1531, which document was also robbed from the charter-chest by the housebreaker in 1836, and never recovered. Down to this Sir Robert, the titles of Lauder and of Bass were indiscriminately used by the family, and it is his armorial bearings that are given as those of Lauder of Bass in the works of Lindsay of the Mount. He married Alison or Mariotta Cranstoun, and died in 1561. Besides his eldest son, Richard Lauder of Lauder, who was his successor, he left a son Robert, to whom he gave the Bass, and other East Lothian lands, thus creating a separate family with that title.” This junior family made several changes upon the original family arms, for whilst they preserved the griffon in the shield instead of the white lion used by the chief, they took angels as supporters, and instead of the crest of the chief family, a tower with a man in

a watching posture looking out of it, they assumed the crest of a gannet sitting upon a rock. One of the last lairds of Bass was with Queen Mary upon Carberry Hill, at the time she was taken to Edinburgh by the Lords. Not long after this, this branch of the family fell into decay, after which the Bass underwent various transferences, until it was afterwards sold to the Government by Sir Andrew Ramsay, Lord Abbotshall, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who was my great-great-grandfather, having been father-in-law to Lord Fountainhall.* The sum paid for the Bass was £4000, and the sale was in October 1671. Near the harbour of North Berwick, on a sandy eminence close to the shore, stand the remains of what is traditionally called the "Auld Kirk." In the burial-place of this, which has been much encroached upon by the sea, a large stone lies flat in the green centre of the area which the building must have enclosed, and is said to mark the place of interment of the Landers of the Bass. I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

THOS. DICK LAUDER.

II. THE PROPERTY OF THE BASS. P. [36.]

The following documents are interesting on two accounts,—as shewing that the Bass was used as a place of confinement so early as 1583; and that the Solan geese and other fowls frequenting the island anciently were, and continue to be, the *private property* of the owner of the island. The first is a Ratification by Parliament in 1592, of an Act of Secret Council in 1583.—See Thomson's edition of the Acts of Parliament, vol. iii. p. 614.

"RATIFICATIONUN of ane act of secreit Counsaill in favouris of the Laird of Bass.

"Forsamekle as oure soverane Lord wt^t avise of the lordis of his hieness Secreit Counsaill be speciall act and ordinance thair of, maid upon the xxj day of Januar the zeir of god Jm Vc fourscoir thre zeiris, Understanding how proffitable the solane geiss and utheris fowlis, qlk hantis reparis and biggis, within the Ile of bass zeirlie ar to the cōmoun weal of this realme, and haill leigis of the same, and how hurtfull the slaying and distroying thair of ar to the haill subiectis of this realme, Maide and constitute Maister george lauder of bass, his aris and assignais and successouris lardis of bass, his hienes comissioners, To tak and apprehend all and quhatsumevir persoun or personis quha happynis to slay ony of the saidis geiss or uther kind of fowlis and birdis, and To minister justice upoun thame as accordis of the law, like as at mair

* Fountainhall is in the parish of Pentcaltland and county of East Lothian. See Statistical Account, vol. ii. p. 349.

lenth is contenit in the said act of secreitt counsaill, of the dait foirsaid Quhilk act oure said soverane lord with express avise & consent of the estatis of this present parliament, Ratifies and apprevis in all pointis clausses articles and conditionis therein contenit after the forme and tennor of the same in all points & decernis and ordanis the same to be insert therein, as ane act maid in this present parliament, and the samy to stand as ane perpetuall law statute and ordinance, and to be put to decre executioun agains the contravenaris thairof in all points perpetuallie in all tymes cuming, off the qlk act the tennour followis : Apud halyruidhous vigesimo primo die mensis Januarji anno dni millessimo quigentissimo octuagesimo tertio, Forsamekle as the kings Majestie and lordis of secreit counsaill, Understanding that be the speciall benefite and provisioun of god, the solane geiss and utheris proffitable fowlis hauntis and repairis in the Ile of the bass, and has thair nestis and nutriment thairin and brings furth zeirlye thair burdis and foullis in grite quantitie and nowmer, and almaist in na uther pairt of this realme, to the greit weill and comoditie of the hail subjectis of this realme, duelland nixt adjacent thairto, sua that reasone guid order and policie requiris that the benefite qlk god hes placit in ane realme, for the weillfair of the haill inhabitantis thereof suld not be certane privat and invyious persons be impedit and distroyit, as in vray deid, the inhabitantis of the cuntries of fyff and angus, and utheris partis of the north lyand adjacent to the sey cost, As alsua the siemen of fischeraw, achesons heaven, salt pans, north beruik, dunbar, skaitraw, haymouth and utheris sey townis on the south syd of forth ceiss not pntlie, like as thai haue not ceissit thir dyvers zeiris bygane To slay and destroy the saidis Solane geiss, be casting off neittis & hykis with bait and burris To draw and allure the auld solane geiss to the baittis quhairin the saidis personis and marinaris ar, and then to take and slay the saidis solane geiss, for na uther benefite or comoditie of thame bot for thair fedderis onlie ; ffor the saidis solane geis quhen thai depairt fra the said ile as they do continwally anys in the zeir, are auld and leyne, unable for any man's meitt, as alsua quhen thay retorne anys in the zeir, hame agane to the Ile are unhable to the nurishment of ony persoun, and sua the saidis auld Solane geiss being so zeirly slayne and distroyit as saidis, thay ar maid unhable to cleck young birds & geis apt for the nutriment of the subjectis of this realme ; and will not decist and ceis theirfra wthout his hieness and his counsaill put remeid tharto : QUHAI-FOIR his Majestie w^t advise of the saidis Lordis of his secreit counsaill for stancheing of the lyk enormitie in tyme cuming hes Ordanit and ordanis all skeppairs and marinars of schipps or boittes and every personis quhatsumevir, usaris of sick moyen ingyne & inventioun, for de-

stroying and slaying of the saidis foulis and solane geis, To be callit and convenit befor the baillies of dunbar, or utheris jugeis to be depute be Mr george Lauder of bass, and his successouris lardis of bass, qlkis jugeis the saidis lordis be thir presentis gevis thame power ta mak and depute als oft as neid beis for quhome they sal be halden to ans^r, To sitt and hald courtis within either dunbar or ony uther town or place, for taking cognitioun in the said caus, and To call and convene the saidis personis before the saidis Jugeis, and gif thai be fund culpable of the saidis crimes To decerne the contravenaris the fault being proven be famous witnesses, Ilk ane of thame in the pane of twentie pundis toties quoties, The ane half thair of to be employit to his Maiestie & payment thereof, to his Majesties thesaurer, in his name to mak, and the uther half to the said Mr George and his successouris to apply, and in cais the personis quhilkis sal happin to be convenit as said is, be unable and unresponsal to pay the saidis pecunial panis, To decerne thair personis to be wardit within the place of bass or ony uther pairt quhair the said Mr George or his saidis successouris sall pleis, during the space of ane zeir thaireftir, upon their awin expens With full power and comission to saidis Jugeis To direct preceptis in their awin names for callin and convening of the saidis personis afor thame, and poynding of the guidis & geir of the personis contravenaris for the foirsaid sowme, as alsua for sumoning of Witnesses Ilk persoun under the panes of Ten poundis, The absentis to amerciate adjudge & unlaw in the said sowme, And for the same be thair awin preceptis lykwyis to poynd and distrenzie, to be applyd as is above mentionat, Clerkis fiandis, dempstaris and all utheris officiaris and memberis of court neidful To mak, creat, substitute & ordane, for qlkis the said lard of bass shall be halden to answer, and generallie all and sundrie uther things to do exerce & use, qlkis in the premisses, and for the executioun thair of is necessarilie requirit to be done fferme & stable halding and for to hald, and quhatsumevir thingis the saidis jugeis sall lawfullie do heirin decerning ordaning and declaring be thir presentis, That the decrettis to be given & pronunsit be the said Jugeis sal have the lyk strenth force & effect, for poynding of the guidis & geir of the personis contravenaris of thir presentis as the decret of ony other juge within this realme, And that l^{res} be direct for intimatioun and publication heirof be oppin proclamatioun at the mercat croces of dundie, abirbrothok, montrose, sandandrois, craill, anstruther, pittenveme, sant monan, weymis, dysrt, kircaldie, kingorne, burnt lland, abindor, Inverkeithing, and utheris sey townis, on the north syd of forth As alsua in the Townis and heavynis of south ferie, cramond, leith, fischerraw, salt panis of Prestoun, northberuik, dunbar, Skaitraw, aymouth, and utheris

places neidfull, quhauitnew nane pretend ignorance of the same, and to comand and charge all our soverane lordis leigis To concur fortifie & assist the said jugéis, in the executioun of the premisses And to do nor attempt na thing to their hinderance, as thai ilk one of thame will answer to his Majestie upoun thair obedience, and at thair uttermaist charge & perell. Extractum de libro acterum Secreti Consilii, S. D. N. regis 1 F. C.

The property of the Bass was acquired by President Dalrymple by Charter from the Crown, dated 31st July 1706. The description in the Charter is as follows:—

“Totam et Integram Insulam vel rupem vocat lie Bass ad nos proprie pertinen jacen. infra parochiam de Northberwick, constabularium de Haddingtown et vicecomitatum de Edinburgh, cum singulis domibus edificiis partibus pendiculis et pertinen. proficuis casualitatibus et emolumentis eidem pertinen. cum omni Jure titulo interesse proprietate et possessione que nos aut prædecessores nostri quobis modo Habuimus habemus aut prætereendere vel clamare potuimus proficuis ex eadem levan. et particulariter absq. ullo prejudicio dict. generalitatis Jus et Dispositionem dict. Insula de Bass per demortuum Dominum Andream Ramsay de Abbotshall tanquam successorem per progressum Domini de Bass. In favorem nostro avunculo Carole Secundi Regis beatus memorie concess.”

This Charter was ratified by Parliament in March 1707, and the Island has been ever since in the uninterrupted possession of the Dalrymple family.

REFERENCES.


1. The Bastion, having Thomas Hog's Cell on the left.
2. The Crane.
3. West Turret.
4. Governor's House.
5. On the east, the Prison and Soldiers' Barracks.
6. On the west, ditto, containing Blackadder's Cell.
7. East Turret.
8. St. Baldred's Chapel, afterwards the Powder Magazine.
9. Garden.

GEOLOGY OF THE BASS.

BY HUGH MILLER.



GEOLOGY OF THE BASS.

 HERE are a small knot of us," said a literary friend, addressing the writer one evening about four months ago, "getting up what will, I daresay, be a rather curious volume on the Bass; and to-morrow we visit the rock in a body to procure materials. Professor John Fleming undertakes the Zoology of the work,—Professor Balfour its Botany,—Professor Thomas M'Crie the Historical portion, Civil and Ecclesiastical,—Professor M'Crie's friend, Mr James Anderson, a learned Covenanter, grapples with the Biographies of what are termed the Bass Martyrs,—while your humble servant conducts the business part of the concern, and in his capacity of purveyor-general waits on you. Our to-morrow's expedition still lacks a Geologist, and our literary speculation, some one learned enough in pre-Adamite history to contribute the portion of the work analogous to that earlier part of the Welsh Genealogy which preceded the famous note, 'N.B.—About this time the

world was created.' Professor M'Crie goes no higher than the days of St Baldred the Culdee, who died on the Bass some time early in the seventh century, and was interred entire in three several burying-grounds at once. Will you not go with us to-morrow, and contribute to our book the Geologic history of the island, from its first appearance, or before, down to the times of St Baldred?"

"I spent a day on the Bass some four or five summers ago," I replied, "and saw, I believe, almost the little all to be seen on it by the geologist. It consists of one huge mass of homogeneous trap, scarce more varied in its texture than a piece of cast metal; and what would you have me to say about a mass of homogeneous trap?"

"Anything, or everything," was the rejoinder. "Dr Mantell writes an ingenious little book on a flint pebble scarcely larger than a hen's egg. You may easily write at least *part* of a little book on a magnificent mass of rock, loftier by a deal than the dome of St Paul's, and a full mile in circumference. At all events, come with us; and if you do not find much to say about the rock itself, you can eke out your description by notices of the geology of the adjacent coast; and here and there stick in an occasional episode, commemorative of whatever adventures may befall us by the way. We regard it as one of the essential requisites of our little volume, that all its science be considerably diluted with gossip."

I was unlucky enough to miss making one in next day's party, all through lack of a railway bill. And yet, convinced that the poet Gray was in the right in deeming "a remark made on the spot worth a cart-load of recollection," I could not set myself to write the Geology of the Bass with aught approaching to comfort,

without having first renewed with the rock the acquaintance broken off for years. But engagements interfered, and weeks and months slipped away, and summer passed into autumn, and autumn into winter; and yet the Bass, inaccessible, at times, during the boisterous and gloomy season of the year which had now set in, for weeks together, was still unvisited. I had fixed on one leisure day as convenient for the journey, and it rose foul with rain. I had selected another, and there came on during the night a storm from the sea, that sent up the white waves a full hundred feet against the eastern precipices of the island, and bathed the old rampart walls in spray. I staked my last chance on yet a third leisure day; and, though far advanced in November, the morning broke clear and bright as a morning in May. Half an hour after sunrise I was awaiting the downward train at the Portobello station. There blew a breeze from the west, just strong enough, though it scarce waved the withered grass on the slopes below, to set the wires of the electric telegraph a-vibrating overhead, and they rung sonorous and clear in the quiet of the morning, like the strings of some gigantic musical instrument. How many thousand passengers must have hurried along the rails during the last twelve-month, their ears so filled by the grinding noises of the wheels and the snortings of the engine, as never to have discovered that each stretch from post to post of the wires that accompany them throughout their journey, forms a great Æolian harp, full, when the wind blows, of all rich tones, from those of the murmurs of myriads of bees collecting honey-dew among the leaves of a forest, to those of the howlings of the night-hurricane amid the open turrets and deserted corridors of some haunted castle. I bethought me,—as the train,

half enveloped in smoke and steam, came rushing up, with shriek and groan, and the melody above, wild yet singularly pleasing, was lost in the din,—of Wordsworth's fine lines on "the voice of tendency," and found that they had become suddenly linked in my mind with a new association:—

" The mighty stream of TENDENCY
Utters, for elevation of our thought,
A clear sonorous voice, inaudible
To the vast multitude, whose doom it is
To throng the clamorous highways of the world."

The Edinburgh reader must have often marked the tract of comparatively level ground which intervenes between Arthur's Seat and the Pentlands on the one hand, and those heights beyond Tranent on the other that merge into the Lammermoor Hills on the south, and piece on to the trap eminences of Haddington and North Berwick on the east. It furnishes no prominent feature on which the eye can repose. Nay, from this circumstance, though occupying a large portion of the area of the landscape, we find that an elegant poet,—the "Delta" of *Blackwood's Magazine*,—wholly omits it in his description of the scene in which it occurs,—

" Traced like a map, the landscape lies
In cultured beauty, stretching wide;
There Pentland's green acclivities,—
There ocean, with its azure tide,—
There Arthur's Seat, and, gleaming through,
Thy southern wing, Dunedin blue!
While in the orient, Lammer's daughters,
A distant giant range, are seen,—
North Berwick Law, with cone of green,
And Bass amid the waters."

The natural objects enumerated here,—of course omitting the ocean,—are the imposing eminences that form

the opposite shores of the middle expanse,—Arthur's Seat and the Pentlands on the one hand, and the Lammermoors, North Berwick Law, and the Bass, on the other. And the parts of the Frith opposite these boldly-featured regions partake strikingly of their character. The middle space that fronts the flat district ashore does not present a single island ; whereas directly opposite the upper tract of hill and valley, we find numerous hill-tops rising above the water, and forming the islands of Inchkeith, Inchcolm, Inchgarvie, Inchmykrie, Carcraig, and Cramond ; while opposite the lower tract we find another scene of half-submerged hills existing as the islets of Eyebroughy, Fidra, the Lamb, Craigleith, the Bass, and the May. Now, this inconspicuous flat space between, which leaves the sea so open to the mariner, and the land so free to the plough, and over which the first twelve miles of my journey along the rails lay this morning, forms the eastern coal deposit, or *basin*, of the Lothians. The traveller may distinguish, on either hand, from the windows of his carriage, the numerous workings that stud the surface, by their tall brick chimneys and the smoke of their engines ; and mark the frequent train sweeping by, laden with coals for the distant city. To conceive of the deposit in its character as a basin, one has to become acquainted with not merely those external features of the country to which I have adverted, but also with the internal arrangement of its strata. Standing on the banks of a Highland lake of profound depth, such as Loch Ness, or the upper portion of Loch Lomond, one can easily conceive of the rocky hollow in which the waters are contained as a vast bowl or basin, and this altogether irrespective of the form of the subaerial portion of the valley that rises over the surface. We can conceive of the rocky hollow occupied

by the lake as a true basin, even should it occur in the middle of so flat a moor, that in winter, when the water is frozen over, and a snow-storm lies deep on the earth, the surface of moor and lake presented one continuous plain. We can conceive of a steep sloping side trending into a rocky bottom many fathoms below ; then the opposite side rising in an angle equally steep ; and, last of all, the horizontal line of ice or water stretching across the abyss, like the string across the curve formed by a bow bent tight by the archer. The Coal Measures of the Lothians represent pretty nearly such a lake ; and their shores,—though, unlike those of the lake of my illustration, sufficiently bold to strike the eye as the leading features of the landscape in which they are included,—bear no comparison in height to the profound depth of the submerged portion at their feet. The ancient strata trend downwards in a steep angle from their sides, to the depth of at least three thousand feet, and then, flattening in the centre of the lake into a curved bottom, rise against the opposite eminences in an angle equally steep. Were the Coal Measures to be removed from that deep basin of the more ancient rocks in which they lie, there would intervene between Arthur's Seat and the Pentlands on the west, and the Garlton Hills and Gullan Point on the east, the profoundest valley in Scotland,—a valley considerably more profound than Corriskin, Glen Nevis, or Glencoe. The twelve miles of railway which intervene between Piershill Barracks and the Garlton Hills, may be regarded as a sort of suspension bridge, stretched over the vast gulf ; and the profound depth below is occupied by one hundred and seventy beds of shale, sandstone, coal, and clay, ranged in long irregular curves that lie parallel to the bottom, and of which no fewer than thirty-three are seams of

coal. And over all, as their proper covering, like the stratum of ice and snow spread over the surface of the Highland lake of my illustration, lie the boulder and brick clays, beds of sand and gravel, and the vegetable mould.

On reaching the station-house at Drem, I transferred myself from the railway vehicle to an omnibus that plies between the station and North Berwick ; and we drove across the country. A coach-top is not quite the place from which the geology of a district may be most carefully studied ; and yet it has its advantages too. There cannot be a better point of observation from which to acquaint one's-self with what may be termed the geological physiognomy of a country. One sees, besides, of what materials the walls that line the sides of the way are composed ; and they almost always furnish their modicum of evidence regarding the prevailing rocks. When speeding along the railway over the Coal Measures, the traveller finds that the fences are constructed of sandstone ; whereas in the district across which the omnibus here conveys him, he sees that they are almost all built of trap. And with this piece of evidence the features of the surrounding landscape entirely harmonize. The general surface of the country is soft and rich ; but abrupt rocks,—the broken bones of the land,—here and there stick out high over the surface, as if to mark the wounds and fractures of ancient conflict. There are the Garlton Hills behind ; a long ridge of feldspar porphyry rises immediately on the left ; on the right, the greenstone eminence on which the old Castle of Dirleton is built ascends abruptly from beside the smooth area of one of the loveliest, most English-looking villages in Scotland ; northwards, encircled by the sea, we may descry the precipitous trap islets of Fidra,

the Lamb, and Craigleith ; several inland crags, more in the fore-ground, and half-hidden in wood, stud the sandy champaign which here lines the coast ; while on the east, immensely more huge than the hugest of the Egyptian pyramids, and, as seen from this point, scarce less regularly pyramidal in its outline, towers the noble monarch of the scene,—

“ North Berwick Law, with cone of green.”

In passing the ancient Castle of Dirleton, which, like the Castles of Dunbar, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, owed its degree of impregnability as a stronghold mainly to its abrupt trap-rock, and which stood siege against the English in the days of Edward I., it occurred to me as not a little curious, that the early geological history of a district should so often seem typical of its subsequent civil history. If a country's geological history was very disturbed,—if the trap-rocks broke out from below, and tilted up its strata in a thousand abrupt angles, steep precipices, and yawning chasms,—the chance is as ten to one, that there succeeded, when man came upon the scene, a history, scarce less disturbed, of fierce wars, protracted sieges, and desperate battles. The stormy morning; during which merely the angry elements contend, is succeeded in almost every instance by a stormy day, maddened by the turmoil of human passion. A moment's farther cogitation, while it greatly dissipated the mystery, served to show through what immense periods mere physical causes may continue to operate with moral effect; and how, in the purposes of Him who saw the end from the beginning, a scene of fiery confusion,—of roaring waves and heaving earthquakes,—of ascending hills and deepening valleys,—may have been closely associated with

the right development, and ultimate dignity and happiness, of the yet unborn moral agent of creation,—responsible man. It is amid these centres of geologic disturbance,—the natural strongholds of the earth,—that the true battles of the race,—the battles of civilization and civil liberty,—have been successfully maintained by handfuls of hardy men, against the despot-led myriads of the plains. The reader, in glancing over a map of Europe and the countries adjacent, on which the mountain-groups are marked, will at once perceive that Greece and the Holy Land, Scotland and the Swiss Cantons, formed centres of great Plutonic disturbance of this character. They had each their geologic tremors and perturbations,—their protracted periods of eruption and earthquake,—long ere their analogous civil history, with its ages of convulsion and revolution, in which man was the agent, had yet commenced its course. And, indirectly at least, the disturbed civil history was, in each instance, a consequence of the disturbed geologic one.

While pursuing the idea, a sudden turning of the road brought me full in view of the Bass, looming tall and stately through a faint gray haze, that had dropped its veil of thin gauze over the stern features of the rock. But the Bass, though one of the Plutonic strongholds of the earth, and certainly not the least impregnable among the number, has, so far as the policy and character of its old masters are exhibited in the record, no very ennobling history. It has been strong chiefly on the side of the despot and the tyrant. Its name appears in our earlier literature only to be associated with lying legends and false miracles. Then, after forming for centuries the site of a stronghold little remarkable in the annals of the country, save that the

unfortunate James I. took sail from it for France previous to his long captivity in England, the rock was converted into a State prison, at a time when to worship God agreeably to the dictates of conscience was a grave State offence. And so its dungeons came to be filled with not a few of the country's best men. At a still later period, it held out for James VII., and was the last spot in Great Britain that recognised as legitimate the event which placed the Constitution of the empire on its present happy basis. And then, for a time, it became a haunt of lawless pirates, the dread of defenceless fishermen and the honest trader. How reconcile with so disreputable a history, the feelings of respect and veneration with which the old rock is so frequently surveyed, and so extensively associated? Johnson, in his singularly vigorous and manly poem, which poets, such as Sir Walter Scott, have so greatly admired, but which mere critics have censured as non-poetical, speaks of a virtue "*sovereign o'er transmuted ill.*" Virtue *does* possess a transmutative power. The death of patriots and heroes under the hands of public executioners confers honour on scaffolds and gibbets; the prison-cells of martyrs and confessors breathe forth recollections of the endurance of the persecuted, that absorb all those harsher associations which link on to the memory of the persecutor. Nay, even instruments of fierce torture come to be regarded less as the repulsive mementoes of a ruthless cruelty, than as the valued relics of a high heroism. And hence the interest that attaches to the Bass.

It is now many years since I gazed on this rock for the first time, from the Frith beyond; but the recollection of the emotions which it excited is still fresh. Some of its more celebrated sufferers came from the immediate neigh-

bourhood of the locality in which I passed my childhood and boyhood, with my first years of labour;—a little northern oasis, in which, during the times of the persecution of Charles II. and his brother, Presbyterianism was as strong and vital as in any district of the south or west; and the “echoes of their fame,” to employ the language of Wordsworth, “ring through” that part of “Scotland to this hour.” In the quarry in which I first became acquainted with severe toil, and an observer of geological phenomena, I used to know when it was time to cease from my labours for the day, by marking the evening sun resting over the high-lying farm-house of Brea,—the little patrimony from which one of the captives of the Bass—Fraser—derived his title. And from the grassy knoll above the hollow I could see the parish churches of two of its other more noted captives,—M’Gilligen of Alness, and Hog of Kiltarn. Hence many an imagination about the rocky Bass, with its high-lying walks and dizzy precipices, had filled my mind long ere I had seen it. I have now before me, among the jottings of an old journal, a brief record of the feelings with which I first surveyed it from the deck of a sailing vessel; nor, though the passage does smack, I find, of the enthusiasm of early youth, am I greatly ashamed of it. “We are bearing up the Frith in gallant style, within two miles of the shore, and shall in a few hours, if the breeze fail not, be within sight of Edinburgh. Yonder is the Bass, rising like an immense tower out of the sea. Times have changed since the excellent of the earth were condemned by the unjust and the dissolute to wear out life on that solitary rock. My eyes fill as I gaze on it! The persecutors have gone, to their place: the last vial has long since been poured out on the heads of the infatuated race who, in their

short-sighted policy, would fain have rendered men faithful to their Princes by making them untrue to their God. But the noble constancy of the persecuted, the high fortitude of the martyr, still live ; there is a halo encircling the brow of that rugged rock ; and from many a solitary grave, and many a lonely battle-field, there come voices and thunderings like those which issued of old from within the cloud, that tell us how this world, with all its little interests, must pass away, but that for those who fight the good fight, and keep the faith, there abideth a rest that is eternal."

It is not uninstrusive to remark, from facts and feelings such as these,—and the instances on record are very great,—how much more permanently *good* connects itself with matter, in the associations of the human mind, than *evil*. The wickedness of the wicked cannot so infeoff itself, if one may so speak, in even their contrivances of most diabolical design,—screws, and boots, and thumbkins, dolorous dungeons, and scaffolds hung round with the insignia of disgrace,—but that the virtues of their victims seize hold upon them, and so entirely appropriate them in the recollection of future generations, that the claim of the original possessors is lost. What a striking comment on the sacred text, "The memory of the just is blessed ; but the name of the wicked shall rot !" It seems to throw a gleam of light, too, athwart a deeply mysterious subject. It was a greatly worse time than the present in this country, when the dungeons of yonder rock were crowded with the country's most conscientious men. And yet how intense the interest with which we look back upon these times ; and on the rock itself, as a sort of stepping-stone by which to ascend to their scenes of ready sacrifice, firm endurance, and high

resolve ; and how very poor would not the national history become, were all its records of resembling purport and character to be blotted out ! The evil of the past has served but to enhance its good. May there not be a time coming when the just made perfect shall look back upon all ill, moral and physical, with a similar feeling ; when the tree of the knowledge of *good* and *evil* shall grow once more beside the tree of life in the Paradise of God, but when its fruit, rendered wholesome by the transmutative power, shall be the subject of no punitive prohibition ; and when the world which we inhabit, wrapped round with holiest associations, as once the dungeon-house and scaffold of a Divine Sufferer, shall be regarded—disreputable as we may now deem its annals—with reverence and respect, as the *Bass* of the universe, and its history be deemed perhaps the most precious record in the archives of heaven ?

I found a friend waiting me at North Berwick,* who kindly accompanied me in my exploratory ramble along the shore, and who, as his acquaintance with the district was greatly more minute than mine, enabled me to economize much time. We passed eastwards under the cliffs, and soon found ourselves on the prevailing trap-tuff of the district, a curiously compounded rock, evidently of Plutonic origin, and yet as regularly stratified as almost any rock belonging to the Neptunian series. The body of the tuff consists of loosely aggregated grains, in some of the beds larger, in some more minute, of the various trap-rocks and minerals, such as green-earth, wacke, a finely levigated basalt, and decomposed greenstone ; and, inclosed in this yielding

* James Cook, Esq. one of Her Majesty's Heralds, presently residing at North Berwick.

matrix, there lie fragments of the harder traps, some sharp and angular, others water-worn and round, that vary in size from a hazel-nut to a hogshead. It encloses also occasional fragments of the aqueous rocks, —here a mass of red sandstone, there a block of lime. There occasionally occur in it, too, viewed over large areas, trap and sedimentary rocks of vast size, beds of the aqueous series many hundred feet in extent, and masses of the Plutonic that exist as tall precipices or extensive skerries ; but *they*, of course, can be regarded as no part of the tuff. As might be premised from its incoherent texture, we find it to be an exceedingly yielding rock. Wherever the lofty line of rampart which it here presents to the coast encroaches on the sea, we perceive that, hollowed beneath by the dash of the waves, it exhibits ranges of bold over-beetling precipices ; while, wherever it retires, we discover that it has weathered down into steep green slopes, with here and there some of the harder masses which it encloses sticking picturesquely through. The enigma that most imperatively demands being read in the case of this rock is the union of sedimentary arrangement with Plutonic materials ; nor does it seem a riddle particularly difficult of solution.

In the works of the Abbé Spallanzani, a distinguished continental naturalist who flourished during the latter half of the last century, the reader may find an elaborate description of the volcano of Stromboli, one of the Lipari Islands. There are, it would seem, several respects in which this volcano furnishes peculiar facilities to the observer. It occurs not on the apex, but on the side of a mountain ; and is so entirely commanded, in consequence, by the heights which rise over it, that the visitor, if the necessary courage

be not wanting, may approach so as to look down into the boiling depths of the crater. Unlike most other volcanoes, it is in a state of perpetual activity; and, what is of still more importance for our present purpose, it rises so immediately over the sea, that no inconsiderable portion of the calcined or molten matter which it has been ejecting day by day, and hour by hour, for at least the last two thousand years, falls hissing into the water. The Plutonic agent gives up its charge direct into the hands of the sedimentary one. Spallanzani relates, in his lively description, how, venturing as near the perilous chasm as he at first deemed safe, he found the view not sufficiently commanding; and how, looking round, "he perceived a small cavern hollowed in the rock, near the gulf of the volcano," which, "taking advantage of one of the short intervals between the eruptions," he was fortunate enough to gain. "And here," he says, "protected by the roof of the cavern, I could look down into the very bowels of the volcano, and Truth and Nature stood, as it were, unveiled before me." "I found the crater," he continues, "filled to a certain height with a liquid red-hot matter, resembling melted brass, which is the fluid lava. This lava appears to be agitated by two distinct motions; the one intestine, whirling, and tumultuous; the other that which impels it upwards. The liquid matter is raised sometimes with more, sometimes with less rapidity within the crater; its superficies becomes inflated, and covered with large bubbles, some of which are several feet in diameter; and when it has reached the distance of twenty-five or thirty feet from the upper edge, a sound is heard not unlike a short clap of thunder,—the bubbles presently burst, and at the same moment a portion of the lava, sepa-

rated into a thousand pieces, is thrown up with indescribable swiftness, accompanied with a copious eruption of smoke, ashes, and sand. After the explosion, the lava within the crater sinks, but soon again rises as before, and new tumours appear, which again burst, and produce new explosions." "In the smaller and moderate ejections," he adds, "the stones, still so hot that their redness, notwithstanding the light of the sun, is distinctly visible in the air, fall back into the crater, and, at their collision with the fluid lava, produce a sound similar to that of water struck by a number of staves; but in the greater ejections, a considerable quantity always fall outside the crater's mouth, and, bounding down the steep declivity, dash into the sea, giving, on entering the waves, that sharp hissing sound which in a lesser degree is produced by a bar of red-hot iron plunged by a smith into a trough of water." The Abbé, on another occasion, approached, he tells us, the foot of the slope on its seaward side, and saw the "ignited stones" rolling down. "The five sailors," he says, "who had the care of the boat in which I was, and some other natives of Stromboli who were with me, and whose occupation often brought them to that part of the sea, told me that the volcano might now be considered as very quiet; assuring me that in its greater fits of fury red-hot stones were frequently thrown to the distance of a mile from the shore, and that, consequently, at such times it was impossible to remain with a boat so near the mountain as we then were. And their assertion appeared to me sufficiently proved by a comparison of the size of the fragments thrown out in the explosions I now witnessed, with that of those which had been ejected in several former eruptions. The first (many of which had stopped at the bottom of

the precipice) were not more than three feet in diameter; while many of the fragments thrown out at other times, of similar quality to them, and which lay in large heaps on the shore, were, some four, some five feet in diameter, and others even still larger." The tract of sea immediately beneath is much perplexed with currents, and exposed to storms (the Lipari Isles, in mythologic history, formed the kingdom of old Æolus); and though, since the volcano existed in its active state, lava and ashes to the amount of many millions of cubical yards must have been cast out,—and though at one time, about forty-four years previous to the date of Spallanzani's visit, it ejected "such an immense quantity of scorixæ, that it caused," to use the expression of his informants, "a dry place in the sea,"—the *debris* has been so diffused by the waves and tides, that there is a depth of about twenty fathoms found but a few hundred yards in front of the crater. The ejected materials are spread by the sedimentary agents over a large superficies. Now, in the semi-Neptunian, semi-Plutonic deposit of Stromboli, which is even now in the forming, we are presented with every condition necessary to the formation of such a deposit of stratified tuff as that which composes so considerable a portion of the coast of North Berwick. There is first the general matrix of ashes, sand, and triturated lava, laid down in continuous layers by the aqueous agent; then the embedded fragments of the harder Plutonic rocks, varying in bulk from the size of a pea, up to blocks of more than five feet in diameter; and, lastly, with the transporting agency of tides and waves at command, the occasional introduction of fragments of sedimentary rock, either derived from strata broken up when the

volcano originally burst forth, or carried from a distance, can be no very inexplicable enigma.

As we proceeded towards the cottages of the fishermen of Canty Bay, where boat for the Bass is usually taken, I was informed by my companion, that Dr Fleming, who had been residing for several weeks, during the previous summer, at North Berwick, had detected on the surfaces of the trap-rocks near the harbour, unequivocal marks of the action of icebergs. He found exactly such grooves and furrows on these rocks as had been found by Lyell on those of the coast of Nova Scotia, where the producing cause is still at work, and every scratch and line may be traced to the half-stranded masses that, dimly seen during the tempests of the winter gone by, had grated harshly along the skerries of the shore. Certainly the associations of the geologist take a wide range,—“From beds of raging fire, to starve in ice.” The rocks here, in their structure and composition, speak of Plutonic convulsion and the fiery abyss ; while the inscriptions on their surfaces testify of a time when colossal icefloes, stranded upon our shores,

“Lay dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms
Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
Thaw'd not, but gathered heap, and ruin seemed
Of ancient pile ; all else deep snow and ice.”

The Bass is perforated by a profound cavern, occasionally accessible at extreme ebb. We had purposed attempting its exploration ; and as the tide, though fast falling, still stood high on the beach, we whiled away an hour or two,—after first securing the services of the boatmen,—awaiting the recession of the water, in examining the coast still farther to the east, and in surveying the magnificent ruins of Tantallan. For at

least several centuries the ancient edifice has been associated in a familiar proverb with the imposing islet opposite, as the subject of two impossibilities :—

“ Ding down Tantallan,—
Mak’ a brig to the Bass :”—

a half stanza which served for ages to characterize the sort of achievements which cannot be achieved ; and which, according to an old military tradition, formed the burden of the “ Scots March.” Hamilton of Gilbertfield, a name once familiar in Scotch poetry, assures Allan Ramsay, in one of his metrical epistles, that

“ Nowther Hielanman nor Lawlan’,
In poetrie,
But mocht as weel ding down Tantallan
As match wi’ thee.”

But we live in times in which the family of the impossibles is fast becoming extinct. The Bass still remains unbridged, only because no one during the late railway mania chanced to propose running a line in that direction ; we have seen the verse of Ramsay considerably more than matched by poets, both of Highland and Lowland extraction ; and Time is fast “ dinging down ” the stately towers of Tantallan. Addison, in his vision of the picture-gallery, could see among the masterpieces of the dead painters only one artist at work,—an old man with a solitary tuft of long hair upon his forehead, who wrought with a pencil so exceedingly minute, that a thousand strokes produced scarce any visible impression, and who, as a colourist, dealt chiefly in brown. I recognised the same ancient gentleman seated high on the central tower of Tantallan, engaged apparently in whetting a scythe on the stonework of the edifice, and ever and anon blowing away the de-

tached particles of dust with his breath. He seemed to be quite as leisurely now in his habits as when seen in the days of Queen Anne among the pictures. But there was an expression of wonderful power stamped on his calm, pale, passionless visage ; and when I saw the marvels which he had accomplished in his quiet way, — how, after laying the doughty Douglasses on their back, he had broken down the drawbridge of their impregnable stronghold, and half filled up the moat, and torn the iron gate of their dungeon off its hinges, and laid corridor and gallery open to the winds of heaven, — and how, still as unfatigued as if his tasks had but just begun, he was going on in his work without rest or intermission, — I could not avoid recognising him as one of the most formidable opponents, or most potent allies, that cause or party could possibly possess ; and felt that it betrayed nought approximating to conceit in Sir Walter Scott, that he should have employed so confidently, and on so many occasions, his favourite Spanish proverb,

“ *Time and I, gentlemen, against any two.* ”

The castle of Tantallan consists of three massive towers, united by two curtains of lofty rampart, that stretch across the neck of a small promontory of trap-tuff, hollowed into inaccessible precipices by the waves below. The entire fortalice consists of three sides of wall-like rock, and one side of rock like wall ; — the edifice, if laid down elsewhere, would be simply a piece of detached masonry, that enclosed no area, and could be rendered subservient to no purpose of defence ; and so it seems difficult to imagine a less fortunate conception regarding it than that of a local topographer, viz., that though at present “ nearly insulated, it once stood

at a considerable distance from the sea," and what is now the perpendicular cliff immediately behind "ended in a gentle slope, which extended greatly beyond the Bass." The stronghold, so situated, would be in exactly the circumstances of the old warrior in the ballad, who, setting his back to a dry-stone fence to defend himself against odds, found his rear laid hopelessly open by the demolition of the crazy erection behind. Change has not been quite so rapid in its march as the myth here would argue ; and the geologist may find on these ruins marks, not only of its progress, but of the rate at which it goes on. The two curtains, with the eastern and western towers, are composed of a pale-coloured Old Red Sandstone,—in the main a durable stone, though some of the hewn surfaces have become hollowed, under the weathering influences, like pieces of honey-comb, and the "bloody heart" is falling away piecemeal from the armorial shield over the gateway. But the greater part of the central tower, evidently a later erection, is formed of a fine-grained trap-tuff ; and with it the agencies of decomposition and decay have been working strange vagaries. The surfaces of the solid ashler have retreated at least half a foot from the original line while the more durable cement in which they were embedded stands out around and over them in thin crusts, resembling hollow cowls projecting over wasted heads,—like, for instance, the becowled head of the spectre monk in the "Castle of Otranto." Now, this trap-tuff portion of the tower,—evidently no part of the original design, but a mere after-thought,—is in all probability not older than the days of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, the nephew of the poet Gawin Douglas, and the stepfather of James V., of whom it is known, that on his return from exile on the death of

James, he greatly strengthened the edifice ; and its state of keeping serves to show how much, when operating on such materials, the tear and wear of a few centuries may do. I bethought me, in front of the old wasted tower,—as I marked at my feet a fragment of dressed stone, which, covered up till very recently by the soil, still retained the marks of the tool with all the original sharpness,—of the time-worn aspect exhibited by the more exposed slopes and precipices of the hills and mountains of our country, compared with the dressed and polished appearance which they so often present in those portions which a protecting cover of mould or clay has shielded from the disintegrating influences. Arthur's Seat, with its worn and lichened precipices, shattered by the frosts and rains of many centuries, resembles the time-wasted tower ; while the stretch of grooved and furrowed rock on its southern flank, which the workmen engaged in forming the Queen's Drive laid bare about two years ago, and which seemed at the time as if it had been operated upon by some powerful polishing machine only a day or two previous, represents the piece of disinterred stone, sharp from the chisel. And in the case of both the tower and the hill, as in many other matters, things are not what they appear to be. The hewn surface of the tower was a greatly more ancient surface than the present one ; and it is but the more modern frontage of Arthur's Seat that presents the marks of a hoar antiquity ; while its dressed and polished portions, which appear so modern, are portions of what is truly its old skin, not yet cast off. It was once all scratched and polished from base to summit, just as the wasted tower once exhibited, from basement to battlement, the marks of the mallet : nay, all Scotland, from the level of the sea to the height of

fifteen hundred or two thousand feet, seems to have been dressed after this mysterious style, as if scoured over its entire area on some general cleaning night. But the central tower of Tantallan tells us how and why it is that only on the less exposed portions of the surface of the country need we look for evidence of this strange scrubbing-bout ;—it is only on the buried pieces of the hewn work, if we may so speak, that we find the sharp markings of the tool.

The enclosed area of the fortress,—cut off from the land by the towers and their curtains, and surrounded seawards by a line of inaccessible precipices,—we find occupied by a range of sorely dilapidated buildings, that rise in rough-edged picturesqueness on the west, immediately over the rock-edge, and by a piece of rich garden ground, fringed on the north and east by thickets of stunted elder. The ruins and the neglected garden are all that remain of the scene which Scott has so well described in *Marmion*, as a favourite haunt of the Lady Clare :—

“ I said, Tantallan’s dizzy steep,
Hung o’er the margin of the deep,
And many a tower and rampart there
Repelled the insult of the air ;
Which, when the tempest vexed the sky,
Half breeze, half spray, came whistling by ;
Above the booming ocean lent
The far projecting battlement ;
The billows burst in ceaseless flow,
Deep on the precipice below ;
And steepy rock and frantic tide,
Approach of human step defied.”

A fine morning had matured into a lovely day. The sun glanced bright on the deep green of the sea immediately beneath ; and the reflection went dancing in the calm, in wavelets of light, athwart the shaded faces

of the precipices ; while a short mile beyond, the noble Bass loomed tall in the offing, half in light, half in shadow ; and, dimly discerned through the slowly dissipating haze, in the back ground rose the rampart-like crags of the Isle of May. Nor was the framing of the picture, as surveyed through one of the shattered openings of the edifice, without its share of picturesque beauty ; it consisted of fantastically piled stone, moulded of old by the chisel, and now partially o'ershadowed by tufts of withered grass and half-faded wallflower. Could the old stately lords of the Castle have tasted, I asked myself, the poetry of a scene which they must have so often surveyed ? And, as if to rebuke the shallow petulance that would restrict whatever is exquisite in sentiment to one's own superficial times, that "noble Lord of Douglas blood," who "gave rude Scotland Virgil's page," and who must a thousand times have looked out upon the sublime features of the prospect from the very spot on which I now stood, seemed to raise his mitred front in the opening, and then, stalking by, tall and stately, to vanish amid the ruins. The "schot-wyndo" that he "unschet ane litel on char," to look out upon the bleak winter morning which he so graphically describes in one of his prologues, may have been the identical shot-window through which, a moment before, I had cast a careless glance upon the sea ; and these were the vaulted passages through which he must have so often paced, ere the field of Flodden was stricken, calling up, as he himself expresses it, in a line which would have stamped him poet had he never written another,

"Gousty schaddois of eild and grisly deed."

I succeeded in scrambling up to a middle range of

apartments that are hollowed in the thickness of the front rampart ; but there is an upper range, inaccessible without a ladder, which I failed in reaching, and which, if once attained, might be made good by five against five hundred any day. I was informed by my companion, that some four or five-and-thirty years ago, when he was a boy at school, this upper range was seized and garrisoned by a gang of mischievous thieves, headed by an old sailor, who had been wrecked shortly before on the rocky islet of Fidra, and had taken a fancy to the ancient ruin. They had constructed a ladder of ropes, which could be let down or drawn up at pleasure ; and sallying out, always in the night-time, they annoyed the country week after week, by depredations on portable property of all kinds, especially provisions—depredations which, though they always left mark enough behind them, never left quite enough to trace them by to the depredators. Sheep were carried off and slaughtered in the fields ; the larders of gentlemen who, like all men of sense, valued good dinners, were broken into, and turkey and tongue extracted ; bakers were robbed of their flour,—provision merchants of their hams ; a vessel in the harbour, on the eve of sailing, was lightened of her sea-stock ; one worthy burgher, much in the habit of examining objects in the distance, had his spy-glass stolen—another was denuded of his clothes ; the mansion-house of Seacliff was harried—the farm-house of Scoughall plundered ; and quiet men and respectable women grew nervous over three whole parishes, when they thought of the light-fingered invisibilities that wrought the mischief, and asked what was to come next. Some of the North Berwick fishermen had seen lights at night twinkling high amid the ruins from slit openings and shot-holes ; but supernaturali-

ties are all according to nature in connection with such ruins as Tantallan ; and so the lights excited no suspicion. A Highlandman who had been sent by his master to plant ivy against the old walls, had been pelted by an unseen hand with bits of lime ; but he was by much too learned in such things not to know that it is fatal to blab regarding the liberties which the denizens of the spiritual world take with mortals ; and so he wisely held his tongue. At length, however, just as the general dismay had reached its acme, the haunt of the thieves was discovered by some young girls, who, when employed in thinning turnips in the garden of the Castle, were startled by the apparition of a weather-beaten face, surmounted by a red Kilmar-nock nightcap, gazing at them as intently from a window in the fourth storey of the edifice, as if the owner of the cap and face had been some second Christy of the Cleek, and longed to eat them. They fled, shrieking, along the identical passage through which the “ good Lord Marmion ” escaped the grim Douglas, when

“ The ponderous grate behind him rung ; ”

the neighbourhood was raised, the hold stormed, and, after a desperate resistance, the old sailor captured ; and with his ultimate banishment by the magistracy, the last incident in the history of Tantallan terminated. The earlier passages were of a more chivalric character ; and yet, when, on groping my way into the dungeon of the fortress,—a gloomy cell nearly level with the moat outside,—I saw one narrow opening, through which I could discern only a minute patch of sky rising slant-wise in the ponderous wall to the surface, and another still narrower opening, through which I could discern only a minute patch of sea slanting downwards in to the

solid rock,—when I had breathed for a few moments the dead stagnant air of the place, and marked the massive iron hinges of the door corroded into mere skeletons by the unwholesome damp,—when I had looked upon the naked walls, and the rubbish-covered floor, and the low-browed roof of dripping stone,—I deemed it a greatly better matter to be contemporary with low rogues, such as the sailor in the red Kilmarnock night-cap, than with high-spirited, mail-covered, steel-helmed robbers, such as those ancient lords of Tantallan who had kept the key of this dolorous dungeon, and could serve at will the unhappy captives which it had once contained, as one of them had served Maclellan, tutor of Bomby, in their dungeon at Thrieve.

We quitted the ruins, and returned to Canty Bay along the cliffs. There occur between the bay and the Castle, as if inlaid in the trap-tuff, two immense beds of the Old Red Sandstone of the district; while a third bed, of at least equal extent, occurs a few hundred yards to the east of the ruins, in the neighbourhood of the mansion-house of Seacliff. In a locality in which the surface has been so broken up that at least three-fourths of its present area is composed of the disturbing trap, and in which the old sedimentary rocks exist as mere insulated patches, there can, of course, be no satisfactory determination regarding the relations of strata. There are, however, various appearances which led me to believe that these beds occur, when in their proper place, deep in the Old Red, and that in their present position they lie not far from the ancient focus of disturbance. They exhibit, what is greatly more common towards the base than in the upper deposits of the system, a large amount of false stratification; they hold a middle place, in point of distance, between

the last patches of the lower Coal Measures which appear on the coast of Dirleton to the west, and the first patches that appear on the coast of Dunbar on the east ; while the lie of their *true* strata, not very greatly removed in some of the beds from the horizontal, indicates a nearly central application of the disturbing force. This last circumstance is not unworthy of notice. Insulated patches of stratified rock, so covered up by soil and diluvium that their relations cannot be traced, are often held to have escaped the disturbing influences, if their strata but rest in the original horizontal line ; whereas the horizontality of their position may be a consequence, not of the absence of disturbance, but merely of its focal proximity. Behemoth, rising amid a field of float-ice, may occasion considerable disturbance and derangement among the pieces that tilt up against his sides ; but the pieces which he carries up on his back retain nearly their original position of undisturbed horizontality. I spent a day, early in the autumn of the present year, in examining that junction, at Siccar Point, of the Old Red conglomerate with the still older slate rocks and micaceous schists of the district which Playfair, in his Memoir of Hutton has rendered classical ; and found the principle to which I refer, of apparent non-disturbance immediately over the focus where the disturbance had been greatest, as finely illustrated by the section as at least any of the other phenomena which its appearances have been cited to substantiate.

I enjoyed on this occasion the companionship of the Rev. Mr Dodds of Belhaven, and found his intimate acquaintance with the district, and with geological fact in general, of great value. On passing along the railway to the east of the town, where the strata, exposed on each side by the excavation, exhibit those

alternations of sandstone and shale so common in the Coal Measures, he informed me that at this point the workmen had found numerous fossils; and he afterwards kindly procured for me one of the specimens,—a block of indurated shale, largely charged with two well-known corals of the Carboniferous Limestone,—*Cyathophyllum fungites* and *Tubipora radiatus*. A full mile and a quarter from where the primary rock first appears, we saw decided marks of the disturbance which it occasioned. The Old Red Sandstone, exhibited here in sections of enormous thickness, lies tilted up against it in an angle which heightens as we proceed, till it assumes, at the point of junction, a nearly vertical position. But the *focus* of disturbance once reached, the *marks* of disturbance cease; and the occasional patches of the Old Red which here and there appear, rest horizontally on the primary rock. They are, to return to my illustration, the ice-fragments which, carried up on the broad back of Behemoth, rest on their original planes, while those that lean against his sides have been set steeply on edge. The Siccar Point is hollowed into a wildly romantic cavern, open to the roll of the sea, and scooped almost exclusively out of an ancient bed of purplish-coloured clay-slate, raised, like the schist in which it is intercalated, in a nearly vertical angle; and which presents, in the weathering, a sort of fantastic fret-work, as if a fraternity of Chinese carvers had been at work on its sides for ages. And forming the roof of the cavern, and laid down as nicely horizontal on the sharp edges of the more ancient strata, as if the levelling rule of the mason or carpenter had been employed in the work, we see stretching over head, the lowest bed of the Old Red Sandstone. On this very point, with the noble cavern full

in front, old Hutton stood and lectured; and he had for his auditory, Playfair and Sir James Hall. But a description of the scene in Playfair's own words may at least serve to show how admirably these Huttonians of the last age could write as well as reason:—

“The ridge of the Lammermuir Hills, in the south of Scotland, consists,” says the accomplished Professor, “of primary micaceous schistus, and extends from St Abb's Head westward, till it joins the metalliferous mountains, about the sources of the Clyde. The sea-coast affords a transverse section of this Alpine tract at its eastern extremity, and exhibits the changes from the primary to the secondary strata, both on the south and on the north. Dr Hutton wished particularly to examine the latter of these, and on this occasion Sir James Hall and I had the pleasure to accompany him. We sailed in a boat from Dunbar on a day when the fineness of the weather permitted us to keep close to the foot of the rocks which line the shore in that quarter, directing our course southwards in search of the termination of the secondary strata. We made for a high rocky point or headland, the *Siccar*, near which, from our observations on shore, we knew that the object we were in search of was likely to be discovered. On landing at this point, we found that we actually trod on the primeval rock which forms alternately the base and the summit of the present land. It is here a micaceous schistus, in beds nearly vertical, highly indurated, and stretching from south-east to north-west. The surface of this rock runs with a moderate ascent, from the level of low water at which we landed, nearly to that of high water, where the schistus has a thin covering of red horizontal sandstone laid over it; and this sandstone, at the distance

of a few yards farther back, rises into a very high perpendicular cliff. Here, therefore, the immediate contact of the two rocks is not only visible, but is curiously dissected and laid open by the action of the waves. The rugged tops of the schistus are seen penetrating into the horizontal beds of sandstone, and the lowest of these last form a breccia containing fragments of schistus, some round and others angular, united by an arenaceous cement.

“Dr Hutton,” continues the Professor, “was highly pleased with appearances that set in so clear a light the different formations of the parts which compose the exterior crust of the earth, and where all the circumstances were combined that could render the observation satisfactory and precise. On us, who saw these phenomena for the first time, the impression made will not easily be forgotten. The palpable evidence presented to us of one of the most extraordinary and important facts in the natural history of the earth, gave a reality and substance to those theoretical speculations, which, however probable, had never till now been directly authenticated by the testimony of the senses. We often said to ourselves, what clearer evidence could we have had of the different formation of these rocks, and of the long interval which separated these formation, had we actually seen them emerging from the bosom of the deep? We felt ourselves necessarily carried back to the time when the schistus on which we stood was yet at the bottom of the sea, and when the sandstone before us was only beginning to be deposited, in the shape of sand or mud, from the waters of a superincumbent ocean. An epocha still more remote presented itself, when even the most ancient of these rocks, instead of standing upright in

vertical beds, lay in horizontal planes at the bottom of the sea, and were not yet disturbed by that immeasurable force which has burst asunder the solid pavement of the globe. Revolutions still more remote appeared in the distance of this extraordinary perspective. The mind seemed to grow giddy by looking so far into the abyss of time ; and while we listened with earnestness and admiration to the philosopher who was unfolding to us the order and series of these wonderful events, we became sensible how much farther reason may sometimes go, than imagination can venture to follow. As for the rest, we were truly fortunate in the course we had pursued in this excursion ; a great number of other curious and important facts presented themselves ; and we returned, having collected in one day more ample materials for future speculation than have sometimes resulted from years of diligent and laborious research."

On reaching Canty Bay, we found the boatmen in readiness ; and, embarking for the Bass, rowed leisurely round the island. What, perhaps, first strikes the eye in the structure of the precipices, as the boat sweeps outwards along the western side, is the number of vertical lines by which they are traversed. No one would venture to describe the rock as columnar ; and yet, like most of the trap-rocks,—like Salisbury Crags, for instance, or the Castle rock of Edinburgh towards the south and west, or the basaltic summit of Arthur's Seat,—the artist who set himself to transfer its likeness to paper or canvass would require to deal much more largely in upright strokes of the pencil than in strokes of any other kind. A similar peculiarity may be observed in some of the primary districts. The porphyritic precipices of Glencoe are barred along the

course of the valley, on both sides, by strongly-marked vertical lines, that harmonize well with the sharp perpendicular peaks atop; and where the vertical lines and perpendicular peaks cease, whether at the upper or lower opening of the glen, the traveller may safely conclude that he has entered on a different formation. As we pass seawards under the higher precipices of the Bass, the vertical lining takes a slightly outward cast; the rude columns seem bent forward like the bayonet-armed muskets of a foot-regiment placed in the proper angle for repelling the charge of a troop of horse; and on the shelves formed by the rude cross jointing of these columns, do the innumerable birds that frequent the rock find the perilous, mid-air platforms on which they rear their young. At the time of my former visit, to borrow from old Dunbar,—

“ The air was dirkit with the fowlis,
That cam with yammeris and with yowlis,
With shrykking, screeking, skrymming, scowlis,
And meikle noyis and showtes.”

But all was silent to-day. November, according to the quondam missionary of St Kilda, is the “deadest month of the year;” “the bulk of the fowls having deserted the coast, leave the rocks black [*i. e.*, white] and dead.” I was not sufficiently aware, during my previous visit, how very much the birds add to the effect of the rock scenery of the island. The gannet measures from wing-tip to wing-tip full six feet; the great black gull, five; the blue or herring gull, about four feet nine inches; and, flying at all heights along the precipices, thick as motes in the sunbeam,—this one, so immediately overhead that the well-defined shadow which it casts darkens half the yawl below—that other, well nigh four hundred feet in the air, though still under the level of the sum-

mit,—they serve, by their gradations of size, from where they seem mere specks in the firmament, to where they exhibit, almost within staff reach, their amplest development of bulk, as objects to measure the altitudes by. And these altitudes appear considerably less when they are away. But an abrupt rock tower, rising out of the sea to the height of four hundred and twenty feet, must be always an imposing object, whatever its accompaniments, or let us measure it as we may.

“Dread rock ! thy life is two eternities—
The last in air—the former in the deep ;
First with the whales—last with the eagle skies :
Drowned wast thou till an earthquake made thee steep !
Another cannot bow thy giant size !”

I was not fortunate enough to effect a landing in the great cavern by which the island is perforated ; the tide had not fallen sufficiently low to permit the approach of the boat through the narrow opening to the beach within ; and, pleasant as the day was, an incipient frost rendered it rather “a naughty one for swimming in.” But we approached as near as the strait vestibule—half blocked up by a rock that at every recession of the wave showed its pointed tusk above water—gave permission ; and I saw enough of the cave to enable me to conceive of its true character and formation. One of those *slicken*-sided lines of division so common in the trap-rocks, runs across the island from east to west, cutting it into two unseparated parts, immediately under the foundations of the old chapel. As is not uncommon along these lines, whether occasioned by the escape of vapours from below or the introduction of moisture from above, the rock on both sides, so firm and unwasted elsewhere, is considerably decomposed ; and the sea, by incessantly charging direct in this soft-

ened line from the stormy east, has, in the lapse of ages, hollowed a passage for itself through. A fine natural niche, a full hundred feet in height,—such a one, perhaps, as that which Wordsworth apostrophises in his Sonnets on the River Duddon,—forms the opening of the cavern, the roof bristling high over-head, with minute tufts of a beautiful rock-fern, the basement-course, if I may so speak, roughened with brown algæ, and having the dark green sea for its floor. But the cavern beyond seems scarce worthy of such a gateway; the roof appears from this point to close in upon it; and a projection from one of the sides completely shuts up its long vista to the sea and the daylight on the opposite side of the island. The height of this tunnel of nature's forming is about thirty feet throughout; its length about a hundred and seventy yards. Not far from its western opening there occurs a beach of gravel, which, save when the waves run high during the flood of stream tides, is rarely covered. Its middle space contains a dark pool, filled even at low ebb with from three to four feet water; and an accumulation of rude boulders occupies the remaining portion of its length, a little within the eastern entrance. It is a dark and dreary recess, full of chill airs and dropping damps,—such a cavern as that into which the famous Sinbad the Sailor was lowered, at the command of his dear friend the king, when his wife had died, and, agreeably to the courtesy of the country, he had to be buried with her alive, in order to keep her company.

So quiet was this delicate winter day, as Gilbert White would term it, and so smooth the water, that we effected our landing on the Bass without a tithe of the risk or difficulty which the midsummer visitors of the rock have

not unfrequently to encounter. The only landing-places, two in number, occur on a flat shelving point which forms the south-eastern termination of the island. Our boatmen selected on this occasion the landing-place in more immediate proximity with the fortress, as the better of the two; and we found its superiority owing to the circumstance, that it had been originally cut, at no inconsiderable expense of labour, into the living rock; here of so solid a consistence that—to employ the words used by Sir Walter in describing a similar undertaking—“a labourer who wrought at the work might in the evening have carried home in his bonnet all the shivers which he had struck from the mass in the course of the day.”

The flat point in which the landing-place is hollowed forms a lateral prolongation of the lowest of three shelves or platforms, into which, with precipitous cliffs between, the sloping surface of the island is divided; and the upper part of this lowest shelf or platform, which rises in level as it sweeps from the eastern to the western precipices, is occupied by the ancient fortress. The stronghold was so designed that a single stretch of wall built across the point,—and at its one extremity joining on to the here inaccessible cliff which rises towards the second platform of the island, and terminating, at its other extremity, with the sheer rock-edge that descends perpendicularly into the sea,—served to shut up the whole Bass. The entire platform somewhat resembles in shape a gigantic letter A,—the flat shelving point, with its landing-places, representing the lower part of the letter, up to the transverse stroke,—the higher portion of the platform, occupied by the various buildings of the fortress, the part of the letter above the stroke,—and the single cross wall, made effective in shutting up so much,

the transverse stroke itself. To this transverse rampart there joins on at right angles a longitudinal rampart,—a line, to follow up my peculiarly *literary* illustration, drawn from the middle of the cross stroke of the A to the apex of the letter; or if the reader has been accustomed to disentangle and peruse those fantastic ciphers, curiously compounded of capital letters, which one so frequently finds inscribed on the mouldering tablets and storied lintels of ancient castles, he may conceive of it as a T reversed, inscribed within a greatly larger A, the central cross line of the cipher serving to form the transverse stroke of each of the component letters. And this longitudinal rampart, by running along the middle of the enclosed portion of the shelf, both served to front the sea with its tier of cannon, for purposes of offence, and to protect defensively from distant cannonading, the buildings which lie clustered behind. The whole *fortalice*, in short, may be conceived of, in the ground plan, as a gigantic letter T, for the A represents chiefly the ground on which it stands. And while any part of it might be battered from a distance, only the transverse portion of it could be approached by an enemy from the landing-places; the longitudinal portion, protected in front by inaccessible rocks, and in flank by the transverse wall, being as entirely included in the enclosed area, outside its parapet as within.

All the doors of the deserted *fortalice* now lie open, except one,—a door by which the tenant of the Bass fences against unauthorised visitors the upper part of the island, with its flocks of unfledged gannets and its sheep; and this door, as it occurs, not in the transverse wall, but at the top of a long ascending passage beyond, leaves the space in front of the longitudinal rampart as

open to the vagrant foot as the shelving point in front of the transverse one. The door divides the island into two unequal parts, a lower and upper; and I am thus particular in detailing the circumstance, as it serves to show on what slight and trivial causes the preservation or extinction of a vegetable species may sometimes depend. The sheep are restricted by the door to the upper division of the island; while two comparatively rare plants indigenous to the place—the sea-beet and the Bass mallow—are found in only its lower division. The same door which protects the sheep from the lawless depredator has protected the two rare plants from the sheep; and so they continue to exist; while in several other islands of the Frith, in which they once found a habitat, but enjoyed the protection of no jealous door, they exist no longer. Even in the Bass they seem to be in considerable danger, from the recent introduction of a colony of rabbits, that have already made themselves free of both the lower and upper divisions of the island, and that, by scooping the soil from under the mallows, and by nibbling off the reproductive germins of the beet, have of late very sensibly diminished the numbers of both. The beet plants in especial seemed to be at least thrice more numerous when I formerly visited the place than I found them now.

The rabbits, however, though no friends to the rare plants, nor yet to the ruins,—for with their unsightly excavations, they have been working sad havoc among the parapets and slimmer walls,—did me some service as a sort of geological pioneers. They had been busily at work immediately under what I have described as the longitudinal wall of the fortress, where the tree mallow grows thick and tall in a loose grayish-coloured soil, which may be now safely described as vegetable mould, but which existed a century and a half ago simply as the

debris and exuviae of the garrison. And their excavations here, from two to four feet in depth, serve to lay open to the visitor a formation of comparatively recent origin, the various remains of which, animal and vegetable, organic and artistic, all speak of man. The accumulation constitutes such a deposit as would surely be now and then unveiled by the explorer of the more ancient fossiliferous beds, had there existed a rational tool-making creature in the earlier ages of creation; or had man, as some writers fancy, been contemporary with all the geologic systems in succession.

It is not unusual to bestow a name on the subordinate beds of larger formations, from the more characteristic organisms which they contain. We have thus "*Coral Rags*," and "*Ichthyolitic Beds*," and "*Gryphite*," "*Encrinal*," and "*Pentamerous Limestones*;" and were we, on a similar principle of nomenclature, to bestow on this limited formation a name from the prevalent remains which it exhibits, we would have to term it the *Tobacco-pipe* Deposit. It abounds in the decapitated stalks and broken bowls of tobacco-pipes, of antique form and massy proportions, any one of which would have furnished materials enough for the construction of two such pipes

"As smokers smoke in these degenerate days."

Assisted by my companion, I picked up in a few minutes the bowls of five of these memorials of bygone luxury, and the stalks of about twice as many more. Some of the stalks at their terminal points are well rounded, as if long in friendly contact with the teeth; while their lack of wax or varnish shows that the art of glazing for an inch or two, to protect the lips from the fretting absorbescence of the pipe-clay, had yet to be invented. The bowls are all broken short at the neck,—evidence

that the wasteful practice of knocking out the ashes, not, as was Uncle Toby's wont, against the thumb-nail, but against a hard stone, has been by no means confined to our own anti-economic age ; and most of them still bear the darkened stain of the tobacco. There are few of the heads of that head-taking-off century,—not excepting the head of the Royal Martyr himself,—in so excellent a state of keeping, or that still bear about them such unequivocal mark of what had most engaged them in their undetached condition, whether the Virginian weed, unlimited prerogative *de jure divino*, or the Canterburian ceremonies. The deposit in which they occur, lies parallel to and immediately in front, as has been said, of the longitudinal range of rampart, along which the sentinels must have paced frequent and oft, humming, during the midnight watch, some reckless old-world song,—“ If ere I do well 'tis a wonder,” or “ Three bottles and a quart,”—and consoling themselves, as the keen sea-breeze whistled sharp and shrill through embrasure and shot-hole, with a whiff of tobacco. The night is drizzly and chill ; and yonder, tall in the fog, may be seen the grimly-moustached, triangular-capped, buff-belted, duffle-be-coated scoundrel of a sentry pacing along the wall, and *crooning* an old drinking song as he goes. One pipe is already smoked out : he stops, and firmly holding the stalk of the implement at the neck, he taps the bowl against the edge of the parapet, in preparation for another. It breaks short in his hand ; and, with a sudden oath, that forms a rather abrupt episode in the tune, and disturbs poor Mr Blackadder in his cell, he sends the bowl a-whizzing over the rampart, and the stalk straightway follows it. And now, after a hundred and eighty years have come and gone, here is both bowl and stalk !

One English poet has written verses on the detached heel of an old shoe ; another on a rejected quid of tobacco divested of the juice. I do not see why a mutilated tobacco-pipe of the Bass should not make quite as good a subject as either. Their abundance here serves to demonstrate that the unscrupulous soldiery of the times of Charles II. must have been not a little remarkable as a smoke-inhaling fraternity ; while the fact that a vicar of the neighbouring parish of Golyn was deposed by James VI. for the high crime of smoking tobacco about half a century before, shows that smoke-inhaling could scarce have taken rank, in the times of James's grandson, among the very respectable accomplishments. The weed, if not obnoxious to all the anathemas of the pedant monarch's "Counterblast," must have still been the subject of an appreciation at least as disparaging as that of Lamb's "Farewell :"—

"Sooty retainer to the vine ;
 Bacchus' black servant, negro fine ;
 Sorcerer that mak'st us dote upon
 Thy begrimmed complexion ;
 And, for thy pernicious sake,
 More and greater oaths to break
 Than reclaimed lovers take * * *
 Stinkingest of the stinking kind ;
 Filth of the mouth, and fog of the mind ;
 Henbane, nightshade, both together,
 Hemlock aconite."

With the broken tobacco-pipes I found numerous fragments of beef and mutton bones, that still bore mark of the butcher's saw, blent with the frequent bones of birds and fractured shells of the edible crab,—memorials, the two last, of contributions furnished by the islet itself to the wants of its garrison or the prisoners. I picked up, besides, a little bit of brass, the ornamental facing, apparently, of some piece of uniform, with seve-

ral bits of iron, long since oxidized out of all shape, and stuck round with agglomerations of gravel and coal, and bits of decayed wood, representative to the young geologist of the components of some ancient conglomerate of the Devonian or Carboniferous period, bound together by a calcareous or metallic cement. My companion found, glittering among the debris, what at the first glance seemed to be a cluster of minute well-formed pearls of great beauty and brilliancy, set in a little tablet; but the jewel turned out, on examination, to be merely the fragment of some highly-ornamented apothecary's phial, embossed into semi-globular studs, that owed all their iridescence to the sorely decomposed state of the glass. Glass decomposes under the action of the elements,—like many of the trap-rocks, such as greenstone, basalt, and the clay-stones,—by splitting into layers parallel to the planes, or, as in this instance, to the curves of the original mass; and the plane of each layer, under the same optical law that imparts iridescence to minute sheets of mica partially raised from the mass, reflects the prismatic colours. Hence the frequent gorgeousness of old stable and outhouse windows, little indebted to the art of the stainer, but left to the amateur pencillings of two greatly more delicate artists in this special department,—cobwebbed neglect and decomposing damp. When examined by the microscope, I found the studs of the Bass specimen presenting exactly the appearance of—what decomposing balls of greenstone have been so often compared to—many coated bulbous roots, such as that of the onion or lily. In greenstone the disintegrating substance is commonly iron; in glass it is the fixed salt, such as kelp or barilla, used as a flux in fusing the stubborn silex; and the

concentric disposition affected by both substances seems to be in part a consequence of the homogeneity induced in the mass by the previous fusion, through which the main agent in the decomposition, whether moisture or air, is permitted to act equally all round at equal depths from the surface,—a process with which the disturbing lines of stratification in a sedimentary mass would scarce fail to interfere. I saw a large cannon-shot, of rude form, and much encased in rust, which had been laid bare by the rabbits in this curious deposit a few weeks before. It had lain sunk in the debris to the depth of about four feet, immediately under a partial breach in the masonry where the fortress had been battered from the sea ; and it had not improbably dealt it a severe blow in the quarrel of William of Nassau. But what I deemed perhaps the most curious remains in the heap were numerous splinters of black English flint, that exactly resembled the rejectamenta of a gun-flint maker's shop. In digging on, to ascertain, if possible, for what purpose chips of black flint could have been brought to the Bass, my companion disinterred a rude gun-flint,—exactly such a thing as I have seen a poverty-stricken north-country poacher chip, at his leisure, for his fowling-piece, out of a mass of agate or jasper. The matchlock had yielded its place only a short time before to the spring lock with its hammer and flint ; but a minute subdivision of labour had not as yet, it would seem, separated the art of the gun-flint maker into a distinct profession ; and so, during their leisure hours on the ramparts, the soldiers of the garrison had been in the practice of fashioning their flints for themselves, and of pitching the chips, with now and then an occasional abortion, such as the one we had just picked up, over the walls.

There was laid open a good many years since, among the sand-hills of Findhorn, on the coast of Moray, the debris of a somewhat similar species of flint-work, blent, as in this instance, with a few of the half-finished implements that had been marred in the making; but the northern flint manufactory had belonged to a greatly more ancient period than that of the musket or its spring lock. The half-finished implements found among the sand-hills were the flint-heads of arrows.

My description of the time-wasted remains of this little patch may be perhaps deemed too minute. I am desirous, however, for the special benefit of the uninitiated, to exhibit—deduced from a few familiar objects—the sort of circumstantial evidence on which, drawn from objects greatly less familiar, the geologist finds no inconsiderable proportion of his conclusions. He is much a reasoner in the inferential style, and expatiates largely on the deductive and the circumstantial. It is, besides, not unimportant to note that, wherever man has been long a dweller, he has left enduring traces behind him,—indubitable marks of his designing capacity, stamped upon metal or stone, stained into glass or earthenware, or baked into brick. In sauntering along the shore, on either side of the Frith of Forth, one may know when one is passing the older towns,—such as Leith, Musselburgh, or Prestonpans,—without once raising an eye to mark the dwellings, simply by observing the altered appearance of the beach. Among the ordinary water-rolled pebbles, composed mostly of the trap and sandstone rocks of the district, there occur, in great abundance, in the immediate neighbourhood of the houses, fragments of brick and tile, broken bits of pottery, pieces of fractured bottles and window-panes, and the scoria of glass-houses, iron-furnaces and gas-

works. And certainly few of these remains can be deemed less fitted to contend, through greatly extended periods, with time and the decomposing elements, than the fish and ferns, the delicate shells and minute coral-lines, of the earlier geologic systems. Dr Keith found the fluted columns and sculptured capitals of the ancient cities of the Holy Land as fresh and unworn as if they had passed from under the tool but yesterday ; and he recognised in the enormous accumulations of hewn stone, which in some localities load the surface far as the eye can reach, the ready-made materials with which, almost without sound of hammer or of saw, as during the erection of the temple of old, the dwellings of restored Judah may yet be built. The burnt bricks that coated the Birs Nemroud, probably the oldest ruin in the world, still retain, as sharply as when they were removed from the kiln in the days of the earlier Babylonian monarchs, their mysterious inscriptions ;—the polished granite of the sarcophagus of Cheops has not resigned, in the lapse of three thousand years, a single hieroglyphic. I have been told by a relative who fought in Egypt under Abercromby, that the soldiery, in digging one of their wells, passed for some eight or ten feet through the debris of an ancient pottery, and that even the fragments at the bottom of the heap,—mayhap the accumulated breakage of centuries, in a manufactory of the times of Cleopatra or the Ptolemies,—retained their bits of pattern as freshly as if they had been moulded and broken scarce a month before. If, in all the earlier geologic formations, from the Silurian to the Tertiary inclusive, we find no trace of a rational being possessed of such a control over inert matter as the idea of rationality necessarily involves, the antiquities of the older historic nations, and

even the debris and rubbish of the more ancient towns of our own country, serve to show that it is not because the memorials of such a being would be either so few as to escape notice, or so fragile as to defy preservation. No sooner does man appear upon the scene as the last born of creation, than—in that upper stratum of the earth's crust which represents what geologists term the recent period—we find abundant trace of him ; and deeply interesting, when presented in the geologic form, some of the more ancient of these traces are.

The recent deposit of the Bass is charged, as has been said, with numerous detached bones, mutilated by the butcher's saw. One of the most ancient fossils that testifies to the existence of man does so in a somewhat similar manner. It exhibits him as vested in an ability, possessed by none of the other carnivora, of facilitating the gratification of his appetites, or the supply of his wants, by the employment of cunningly-fashioned weapons of his own fabrication and design. In the upper drift of the province of Scania in Sweden there occur numerous bones of a gigantic animal of the ox family ; and on the skeleton of one of these, singular for its degree of entireness, an ancient hunter of the country seems to have left his mark. " A skeleton of the *Bos Urus*, or *Bos primigenius*," says Sir Roderick Murchison, in his admirable paper on the Scandinavian Drift, " was extracted by Professor Nilsson from beneath ten feet of peat, near Ystadt, the horns of the animal having been found deeply buried in the subjacent blue clay on which the bog has accumulated. This specimen is not only most remarkable, as being the only entire skeleton yet found of an animal whose bones occur in the ancient drift of the diluvium of many countries of Europe, as well as in Siberia (where it is

the associate of the Mammoth and the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*), but also as exhibiting upon the vertebral column a perforation which Nilsson has no doubt was inflicted by the stone-head of a javelin thrown by one of the aboriginal human inhabitants of Scania. By whatever instrument inflicted, this wound has its longest orifice on the anterior face of the first lumbar vertebra, and, diminishing gradually in size, has penetrated the second lumbar vertebra, and has even slightly-injured the third. Occupying himself for many years in collecting all the utensils of the aborigines of his country, and in studying their uses, Professor Nilsson shews that the orifice in the vertebra of the specimen of *Bos primigenius* in question is so exactly fitted by one of the stone-headed javelins found in the neighbourhood, that no reasonable doubt can be entertained that the wound was inflicted by a human being. He does not think that the wound was mortal, but, on the contrary, he indicates, from the manner in which the bone seems afterwards to have cemented, that the creature lived two or three years after the infliction of a wound produced by the hurling of a javelin horizontally in the direction of the head, but which, missing the head, passed between the horns, and impinged on this projecting portion of the back."

I insist rather on the permanency of the works of men than on that of the frame-work of their bodies,—rather on the broadly-marked traces which former generations have left behind them, in the ruins and debris of the extinct nations, than on the scarce less perfectly preserved human remains of ancient catacombs and sepulchres; and I do so chiefly in reference to a strange suggestion,—not greatly insisted upon in these days, but not without its portion of plausibility,

and peculiarly adapted to appeal to the imagination. It at least addressed itself very powerfully to mine, when first brought acquainted with it, many years ago, by a friend then studying at the University. I had already begun to form my collection of Liasic fossils, and,—much struck by the strangeness of their forms,—was patiently waiting for some light respecting them, when my friend, who had seen a good many such in the College Museum, and had just returned home from his first year's course, informed me that they were regarded as belonging to a by-gone creation, of which not so much as a single plant or animal continued to exist. Nay, he had even heard it urged as not improbable, that the ancient world in which they had flourished and decayed,—a world greatly older than that beyond the Flood,—had been tenanted by rational, responsible beings, for whom, as for the race to which we ourselves belong, a resurrection and a day of final judgment had awaited. But many thousands of years had elapsed since that day,—emphatically the *last* to the pre-Adamite race, for whom it was appointed,—had come and gone. Of all the accountable creatures that had been summoned to its bar, none had been gathered to its bar, so that not a vestige of the framework of their bodies occurred in the rocks or soils in which they had been originally inhumed; and, in consequence, only the remains of their irresponsible contemporaries, the inferior animals, and those of the vegetable productions of their fields and forests, were now to be found. How strange the conception! It filled my imagination for a time with visions of the remote past instinct with a wild poetry, borrowed in part from such conceptions of the pre-Adamite kings, and the semi-material intelligences, their contemporaries, as one

finds in Beckford's "Vatheck," or Moore's "Loves of the Angels;" and invested my fossil lignites and shells, through the influence of the associative faculty, with an obscure and terrible sublimity, that filled the whole mind. But there is not even a shadow of foundation for a conception so wild: on the contrary, the geologic evidence, whether primary and direct, or derivative and analogical, militates full against it.

I say derivative and analogical, as certainly as primary and direct. The rational, accountable creature of the present scene of things stands in his proper place on the apex of material animated being; he forms the terminal point of that pyramid, the condition of all whose components is vitality breathed into dust. At the ample base we recognise the lower forms of life,—shells, crustaceans, and zoophites; a little higher up we find the vast family of the vertebrate inhabitants of the waters,—fish; still higher up we see a distinct stage in the ascent occupied by birds and reptiles; still higher up are ranged those important families of the mammiferous quadrupeds, described in Scripture as the "beasts of the field;" and then, supreme over all, and pointing to heaven, we mark on the cloud-enveloped summit of the pyramid, reasoning, responsible man. How incomplete would not the edifice seem, —a mere unfinished *frustrum*,—were the intermediate tiers to be struck away, and man to be placed in immediate juxtaposition with the fish! Such, however, would be the place and relations of a rational, accountable being, during the vast divisions of the Palæozoic period. Or how incomplete even would not the edifice seem, were but the second tier,—that comprising the beasts of the field,—to be struck away, and man to be placed in immediate juxtaposition with the bird and the reptile! And yet such would be the

place and relations of a rational, accountable being, during the vast divisions of the Secondary period. It is not merely on the palpable incompleteness of the chain in either case, or on the enormous width of its gaps, that we would have to insist, but also on the positive helplessness of a rational creature so circumstanced. The moral agent of such a world would be the unheeded monarch of an ungovernable *canaille*; and, lacking the higher order of subjects, from which alone his servants and ministers could be selected, he would lack also, in consequence, any profitable command over the lower. The mighty armies which he would be called on to command would, from the lack of subordinate officers, be mere mutinous mobs, with which no combined movement could be accomplished, or general achievement performed. The earth, as it existed in these earlier periods, could have been no home for man; and with this conclusion the direct findings of the geologic record thoroughly agree. In the Palæozoic, the Secondary, and the earlier Tertiary formations, we discover no trace whatever of a reasoning creature, who could stamp the impress of his mind on inert matter. Ancient as is the earth which we inhabit, we seem to be in but the first beginnings of the moral government of God.

I can, of course, refer to the divine government here in but its relation to agents, possessed, like man, of body as certainly as of spirit, for of none other can matter furnish any recognisable trace. In vain, from any existing data, may we attempt to assign era or epocha, amid the revolutions of the bygone eternity, to that revolt of the *unembodied* powers of evil which

“ Raised impious war in Heaven, and battle proud.”

It may have been contemporary with some of the later geologic formations in our own earth ; or it may have taken place, according to Milton, when

“ As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild
Reigned where these heavens now roll,—where earth now rests,
Upon her centre poised.”

Or it may have arisen as a cloud in the Palæozoic dawn of creation, to darken with its shadow every after scene of existence in all the succeeding creations,—those scenes in which the fierce Sauroid fish battled with his cogeners, or the gigantic Saurian with his kindred reptiles, or the enormous Mammal with his weaker brethren of the plain or forest. It *may* have exerted a malign influence on the pre-Adamite ages of suffering, violence, and death, just as the sin of the human species now exerts a malign influence on the condition of those unoffending animals contemporary with man, that groan and suffer because of human offence. We know regarding neither the era nor the influence of the earlier event, for on these points the voice of inspiration is mute ; but God's moral government, in its relation to at least *embodied* and *material* agents, is but of late origin,—a thing of but the passing ages of our planet ; and for the staying of the great plague, so recently broken out, the decease at Jerusalem has already been accomplished. And who shall dare limit the circle of worlds to which the influence of that decease is destined to extend ? Many a great kingdom has been gladdened by the beam which broke from the little hill of Calvary ;—why may not many a great planet be cheered by the same beam transmitted from the little world in which the little hill is included ?

The walls of the stronghold of the Bass, with the exception of a few rybats and lintels, formed of a light red or pale sandstone brought from the shore, are built of stone quarried from the rock on which it stands. The stone, originally of a dingy olive-green colour, like so many other rocks of the trap family, exhibits, wherever exposed to the weather, a deep tinge of chocolate-brown,—the effect, apparently, of a slight admixture of iron. In the line of rock which flanks on the right the narrow passage that runs between the outer and inner gateway, I detected several minute veins of this widely-diffused metal existing as compact red iron-stone, brown in the mass, but of a deep red colour in the streak. A similar species of iron ore, found in considerable abundance in various parts of the Highlands, is employed by shepherds, under the name of *keel*, as a pigment for marking their sheep, and yields a stain which, from its metallic character, is not easily effaceable. The trap of the Bass has been described by a celebrated Continental geologist, M. A. Boué, as a compact clinkstone; by Mr James Nicol, in his “Guide to the Geology of Scotland,” as a “fine granular greenstone or clinkstone.” I may be permitted to remark, for the benefit of the uninitiated, that the hard splintery trap-rock on which the Castle of Edinburgh stands is a clinkstone; while the trap-rock of lighter colour and larger grain, which forms the noble range of trap precipices that sweep along the brow of Salisbury Crags, is a greenstone. The trap of the Bass seems to be of an intermediate hybrid species; several of the fragments which I detached from the rocks in the immediate neighbourhood of the landing-place,—conchoidal in their fracture, and sprinkled over with minute needle-like crystals of feldspar, that sparkle in a homo-

geneous base,—partake more of the nature of clinkstone; while in the upper and middle walks of the island, where the stone is less conchoidal, and both more persistently granular, and the grains considerably larger, it partakes more of the greenstone character. But the entire mass, whatever its minuter differences, is evidently one in its components, and was all consolidated under the refrigerating influences, at some points perhaps more, at others less slowly, but in exactly the same set of circumstances. It may be mentioned, however, in the passing, that none of the detached fragments exhibit the peculiar globular structure so frequently shown in weathering by the greenstone family; nor, indeed, do we find among the precipices of the island, save in the line of the cave, marks of weathering of any kind. The angles stand out as sharp and unworn as if they had been first exposed to the atmosphere but yesterday; and to this principle of indestructibility, possessed in a high degree by all the harder clinkstones, does the entire island owe its preservation, in its imposing proportions and singular boldness of outline. Had it been originally composed of such a yielding tuff as that on which the fortress of Tantallan is erected, we would now in vain seek its place amid the waters, or would find it indicated merely by some low skerry, dangerous to the mariner at the fall of the tide.

The sloping acclivity of the Bass consists, as has been said, of three great steps or terraces, with steep belts of precipice rising between; and of these terraces, the lowest is occupied, as has been already shown, by the fortress, and furnishes, where it sinks slopingly towards the sea on the south-east, the two landing-places of the island. The middle terrace, situated exactly over

the cave, and owing its origin apparently to the operations of the denuding agencies, directed on the same great fissure out of which the perforation has been scooped, has furnished the site of the ancient chapel of the island; while the upper and largest terrace, lying but a single stage beneath the summit of the rock, we find laid out into a levelled rectangular enclosure, once a garden.

The chapel, though history has failed to note the date of its erection, bears unequivocal marks of being the oldest building on the island. A few sandstone rybats line one of the sides of the door; and there is a sandstone trough within which may have once contained the holy water; but these merely indicate a comparatively recent reparation of the edifice,—probably not long anterior in date to the times of the Reformation. The older hewn work of the erection is wrought, not in sandstone, but in a characteristic well-marked claystone porphyry, occasionally seamed by minute veins of dull red jasper, which is still quarried for the purposes of the builder in the neighbourhood of Dirlton. Like most of the porphyries, it is a durable stone; but in this exposed locality the wear of many ages has told even on it, and it presents on the planes, once smoothed by the tool, a deeply fretted surface. The compact earthy base has slowly yielded to the weathering influences, and the embedded crystals stand out over it in bold relief. The masonry, too, of the walls and gables speaks, like the wasted porphyry, of a remote age. In the rubble work of the fortress below, though sufficiently rude, we invariably find two simple rules respected, an attention to which distinguishes, in the eye of the initiated, the work of the bred mason of at least the last four centuries, from that of

the untaught diker or *cowan* of the same period. The stones are placed invariably on their larger, not their lesser beds; and each, though laid irregularly with respect to its neighbours, ranges level on at least its own bed. A ruler laid parallel to the line in which it rests would be found to lie parallel to the line of the horizon also; but in the rubble work of the chapel above, we find no such laws respected. The workmen by whom it was built, like the old Cyclopean builders of Sicily and Etruria, or the untaught burghers of Edinburgh, who turned out *en masse* to raise their city-wall in troublous times, had them not in their mind. And the characteristic is a very general one of the mason-work of our older and ruder chapels,—our *Culdee* chapels, as I may perhaps venture to term them. The stones rest on whatever beds chanced to fit, or in whatever angle best suited the *lie* of the *course* immediately below.

The garden, surrounded by a ruinous wall, and a broad fringe of nettles, occupies, as has been said, the upper terrace of the island. When I had last seen it in the genial month of June 1842, it bore, among the long rank grass that marks the richness of its soil, its delicate sprinkling of “garden flowers grown wild;” but the pleasant “cherry trees, of the fruit of which” Mr Fraser of Brea “several times tasted,” were no longer to be seen; and now, overborne by the wintry influences, the flowers themselves had disappeared, and the area lay covered with a sallow carpeting of withered herbage. What is termed the well,—a deep square excavation near the middle of the enclosure,—I found full to overflowing with a brown turbid fluid, which gave honest information to the organs of smell that it was neither necessary nor advisable to consult regarding it those of taste. It had proved, I was in-

formed by the boatmen, the grave of a hapless sheep during one of the snow storms of last winter; and a cold infusion of undressed mutton,—for the animal had been left to decay when it had fallen,—would form, I am afraid, but tolerable drinking, even with the benefit of the finest of water as a menstruum. The water of the Bass, however,—and I saw considerable accumulations of it in two other receptacles,—must be bad when at the best. Mr Fraser complains, in his Memoir, that in the winter time, when communication between the island and the mainland was cut off by the surf, the prisoners had not unfrequently, for lack of better, to drink “corrupted water, sprinkled over with a little oat meal.” The frequent rains,—for there is no true spring in the island,—in soaking downwards through the rich soil, fattened during a long series of years by the dung dropped on it by the birds, becomes a sort of dilute tincture of guano,—which, however fitted for the support of vegetable existence, must be but little conducive to the welfare of animal life. And hence one of the characteristics indicated by the laird of Brea:—the Bass water is “corrupted water.”

A pyramid of loose stones,—the work of some of the troops engaged in the great ordnance survey,—occupies the apex of the island. One is sometimes inclined to regret that these conspicuous mementoes of an important national undertaking, which in the remoter and wilder regions of our country furnish so many central resting points, from which the eye,—to employ a phrase of Shenstone’s,—“lets itself out on the surrounding landscape,” should be of so temporary a character. Placed, as most of them are, far out of reach of the levelling plough and harrow, and of the covetous dike-builder, they would form, were they but

constructed of stone and run lime, connecting links between the present and remotely future generations, that would be at least more honourable to the age of their erection than monuments raised to commemorate the ferocities of barbarous clan battles, or the doubtful virtues of convenient statesmen, who got places for their dependents. They might have their little tablets, too, commemorative, like those of the old Roman wall, of the laborious "*vexillarii*" who had erected them, and usefully illustrative, besides, of the comparative powers, in resisting disintegration, of the various serpentine, marbles, granites, and sandstones of the country. The stony sentinel of the Bass,—for sentinel, at a little distance, it seems,—occupies, like many of its fellows over Scotland, what in the winter nights must be a supremely drear and lonely watching station,—quite the sort of place for the ghost of some old persecuting prison-captain to take its stand, what time the midnight moon looks out through rack and spray, and the shadow of the old chapel falls deep and black athwart the sward. The island must have been less solitary a-nights than now, during at least the summer season, some sixty years ago, when, according to an account by Alexander Wilson, the well-known literary pedlar, the climbers resided permanently on the rock at breeding time, "in a little hut, in which liquor and bread and cheese were sold" for the "accommodation of chance visitors, and of the sportsmen who frequented the place for the diversion of shooting." Wilson, laden with pieces of muslin and of verse, and with the prospectus of his first publication in his pocket, journeyed along the coast in the autumn of 1789, to make a "bold push," as he somewhat quaintly informs the reader in his journal, "for the united interest of pack

and poems,"—recording each night the observations and occurrences of the day. He had visited Cauty—or, as he writes the word, *Comly*—Bay, where then, as now, "a few solitary fishers lived;" and was much struck by the appearance of the Bass,—“a large rock,” he says, “rising out of the sea to the dreadful height of six hundred feet, giving the spectator an awful idea of its Almighty Founder, who weigheth the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance,—who by one word raised into existence this vast universe, with all these unwieldy rocks,—and who will, when his Almighty goodness shall think fit, with one word command them to their primitive nothing.” But though he eagerly transferred to his journal all the information regarding the rock which he succeeded in collecting, he was unable, it would seem, to visit it; times were hard; and his list, both of sales and subscribers, low.

“ The poor pedlar failed to be favoured with sale,
And they did not encourage the poet.”

Wilson pointedly refers, in his journal, to the “prodigious number of solan geese that build among the cliffs of the rock.” With what feelings, as he lay on the green bank ashore, did he survey the flocks wheeling and screaming around it, thick as midges over a woodland pool in midsummer,—now gleaming bright in the distance, as they presented their white backs to the sun,—anon disappearing for a moment, as they wheeled in airy evolution, and the shaded edges of their wings turned to the spectator! Did the pulses of the incipient Ornithologist beat any the quicker as he gazed on the living cloud? or did there arise within him a presentiment,—a sort of first glimmer,—of the happy enthusiasm which at an after period pervaded his whole

mind, when, week after week, he lived in the wild forests of the West, or swept in his canoe over the breasts of mighty rivers for hundreds of miles, marking every beauty of form, every variety of note, every peculiarity of instinct, vested in the feathered creation, and laying in, fresh from nature, the materials of his magnificent descriptions? Had we met such a poor curious pedlar to-day, we would willingly have indulged him in a gratis voyage to the Bass, and charged the expense of his entertainment to the account of the forthcoming volume; but pedlars of the type of the Ornithologist are, I suspect, rare. The last of the fraternity with whom I came in contact was a tall, corduroy-encased man, laden with japanned trays. There was an idle report current at the time,—for our meeting occurred shortly after the Queen's first visit to Scotland,—that her Majesty purposed purchasing Craig-Millar Castle, and getting it fitted up into a royal residence; and as the castle on its noble slope, with the blue Pentlands in the back-ground, and Arthur's Seat, half in shadow, half bronzed by the sun, full in front, formed our prospect at the time, the tall pedlar was amusing himself in loyally criticising the landscape on behalf of his sovereign. "Yes," he said, "there's a wheen bonny parks there, an' there's bonny bits o' wud atween them; but yonder's a curn o' *reugh* hills, an' its an ugly rocky lump that Arthur's Seat. Nae doubt the place is no a bad place, but it wad be a hantle prettier place for a Queen, if we could but tak' awa the *coorse* Pentlands and the *reugh* Seat."

How vastly more strange and extravagant-looking truth is than fiction! Our Edinburgh Reviewers deemed it one of the gravest among the many grave offences of Wordsworth, that he should have made the hero of the

“Excursion” a pedlar. “What,” they ask, “but the most wretched and provoking perversity of taste and judgment could induce any one to place his chosen advocate of wisdom and virtue in so absurd and fantastic a condition? Did Mr Wordsworth really imagine that his favourite doctrines were likely to gain anything in point of effect or authority, by being put into the mouth of a person accustomed to higgles about tape or brass sleeve-buttons? Or is it not plain that, independent of the ridicule and disgust which such a personification must give to many of his readers, its adoption exposes his work throughout to the charge of revolting incongruity and utter disregard of probability or nature?” If the critics be thus severe on the mere choice of so humble a hero, what would they not have said had the poet ventured to represent his pedlar, not only as a wise and meditative man, but also as an accomplished writer, and a successful cultivator of natural science,—the author of a great national work, eloquent as that of Buffon, and incomparably more true in its facts and observations? Nay, what would they have said if, rising to the extreme of extravagance, he had ventured to relate that the pedlar, having left the magnificent work unfinished at his death, an accomplished prince,—the nephew of by far the most puissant monarch of modern times,—took it up and completed it in a volume, bearing honourable reference and testimony, in almost every page, to the ability and singular faithfulness of his humbler predecessor the “Wanderer.” And yet this strange story, so full of “revolting incongruity and utter disregard of probability or nature,” would be exactly that of the Paisley pedlar, Alexander Wilson, the author of the “American Ornithology,”—a work completed by a fervent admirer of the pedlar’s genius,

Prince Charles Lucien Bonaparte. There are several passages in the journal kept by Wilson when he visited Canty Bay and its neighbourhood,—though he was a young man at the time, unpossessed of that mastery over the powers of thought and composition to which he afterwards attained,—that serve strikingly to remind one of the peculiar vein of observation and reflection developed in the Wanderer of the “Excursion.” The following incident, for instance, recorded during the evening on which he jotted down his remarks on the Bass, seems such a one as the humble hero of Wordsworth would have delighted to narrate.

He had passed on from Canty Bay to Tantallan, where he lingered long amid the broken walls and nodding arches. And then, “having sufficiently examined the ancient structure,” he says, “I proceeded forwards, and arrived at a small village, where, the night coming on, I obtained lodgings in a little ale-house. While I sat conversing with the landlord, he communicated to me the following incident, which had recently taken place in a family in the neighbourhood. About six months ago, the master of the house, who was by trade a fisher, fell sick, and continued in a lingering way until about three weeks ago, when his distemper increased to that degree that all hopes of recovery were gone. In these circumstances he prepared himself for dissolution in a manner that became a Christian, and agreeably to the character he had all along been distinguished by when in health and vigour. Meanwhile, his wife, being pregnant, drew near the time of her delivery; and as the thought that he should not see his last child cost the poor man no small uneasiness, it became one of his fervent petitions to Heaven that he might be spared until after its birth. But his ma-

lady increased, and all his relations were called on to take their last farewell. While they stood round his bed, expecting his immediate departure, his wife was taken suddenly ill, and in less than an hour was delivered of twins, which the dying man no sooner understood, than he made signs that the minister should be sent for, who accordingly in a short time came. He then attempted to rise in bed, but his strength was exhausted. Hereupon one of his daughters went into the bed behind him, and supported his hands until he held up both the children, first one and then the other. Then, kissing them both, he delivered them over to their mother, and, reclining his head softly on the pillow, expired." Such is one of the more characteristic passages in the prose "*Excursion*" of the pedlar Wilson. It forms, however, no part of the Geology of the Bass.

Let us now see whether we cannot form some consistent theory regarding the origin and early history of the rock. It occurs, as has been said, in a highly disturbed district, which extends on the west to Aberlady Bay, and on the east to near the ancient Castle of Dunbar, and includes in its stormy area by far the greater part of the parishes of Whitekirk, Prestonkirk, North Berwick, Dirleton, and Athelstaneford. The trap islands and skerries that lie on both sides parallel to the shore show that this Plutonic region does not at least immediately terminate with the coast line; while the Isle of May,—a vast mass of greenstone, lofty enough to raise its head above the profounder depths of the Frith beyond,—may be regarded as fairly indicating that, on the contrary, it stretches quite as far under the sea as into the interior of the country. And occupying nearly the centre of this disturbed district, like some undressed obelisk standing lichened and

gray in the middle of some ancient battle-field, rises the tall column of the Bass. How account for its presence there?

The thick of the battle between the Vulcanists and Neptunians has always lain around elevations of this character: they have formed posts of vantage, for the possession of which the contending parties have struggled like the British and French forces at Waterloo round Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte; but the wind of the commotion has been long since laid, and they may now be approached fearlessly and in safety. The Wernerians, some of whom could believe, about the beginning of the present century, that even obsidian and pumice were of "aquatic formation," regarded them as mere aqueous concretions, terminating abruptly below, without communication with rocks of resembling character, and as similar in their origin to the hard insulated yolks which sometimes occur in beds of sandstone and of lime; while the Huttonians held them, on the other hand, to be, like the lava of volcanoes, productions of the internal fire, and believed that they communicated in every instance with the abyss from which their substance was at first derived. Both parties, of course, agreed in recognising immense denudation as the agent which had scooped from around them the softer rocks, in which, according to the Wernerian, they had consolidated under the operations of some unknown chemistry; or whose rents and chasms, opened by the volcanic forces, had furnished, according to the Huttonian, the moulds in which they had been cast,—as an iron-founder casts his ponderous wheels, levers, and axles, in matrices of clay or sand, that communicate by sluice with the molten reservoir of the furnace. Let us take immense denudation, then, the work of tides

and waves operating for myriads of ages, as an agent common to both parties. From where Edinburgh now stands, a huge dome of the Coal Measures, greatly loftier than the Pentlands, and that once connected the coal-field of Falkirk with that of Dalkeith, has been swept away by this tremendous power; while from the western districts of Ross, a deposition of the Old Red Sandstone, full three thousand feet in thickness, has in like manner been ground down, and the gneiss rocks on which it rested laid bare. And in the one district we find eminences of harder texture than the mass that had once enveloped them,—such as Arthur's Seat, the Castle rock, Corstorphine Hill, and the Dalnahooy Crag, standing up in high relief; and mountains such as Suil Veinn, Coul Beg, and Coul More, in the other.

“ Who was it scooped these stony waves?
Who scalp'd the brows of old Cairngorm,
And dug these ever-yawning caves?—
'Twas I, the Spirit of the storm.”

And scattered over the disturbed district of which the Bass nearly occupies the centre, we find resembling marks of vast denudation; the Bass itself, the four adjoining islands—the Isle of May, the Garlton Hills near Haddington, and the Law of North Berwick—serving but in little part to indicate the height at which the enveloping material once stood. These eminences compose, according to the poet, the stony waves of the locality, scooped out of the yielding mass by the “ Spirit of the storm.”

With the denuding agencies granted, then, by both parties, as a force operative in converting the inequalities in solidity of the rocks of the district into inequalities of level on its surface, let us next remark, that all the eminences thus scooped out are composed

of hard trap; while the reduced mass out of which they have been dug consists either of soft trap-tuff, or of stratified shales, sandstones, and limestones,—rocks these last, which Wernerians and Huttonians alike recognise as of sedimentary origin. From the section of the harder traps, exhibited on the general surface by the denuding forces, can we alone judge of their original forms as solid figures, or of that of the buried portions of them; and the difficulty of determining from mere sections the form of even *regular* figures, may serve to show how much uncertainty and doubt must always attend the attempt to determine from mere sections the form of *irregular* ones. Let us suppose that a mass of black opaque glass, thickly charged with regularly-formed cones of white china,—cones described by angles of many various degrees of acuteness, and carelessly huddled together in every possible angle of inclination,—has been ground down to a considerable depth, as if by the denuding agencies, and then polished. In how many diverse figures of white would not the china cones be presented! There would be paraboles and hyperboles, circles, ellipses, and isosceles triangles; the circles would be of every variety of size, the angles of every degree of acuteness,—the paraboles, hypberboles, and ellipses, of every proportion and form compatible with the integrity of these figures; and who save the mathematician who had studied Conics could demonstrate that the one normal figure, of which all these numerous forms were sections, could be the cone, and the cone only. But if the embedded pieces of china were not of regular, but of irregular figures, their forms as solids could, from the sections laid open, be but conjectured, not demonstrated. Such, however, is the difficulty with which the geologist, whatever his school, has to con-

tend, who studies by section the forms of the trap-rocks, enclosed in sedimentary or tuffaceous matrices ; and, of course, great uncertainty must always attach to arguments, whether for the support or demolition of any theory, founded upon these doubtful forms. It may be received as a general principle, for instance, that dikes and veins of aqueous origin, filled by the ocean from above, will terminate beneath somewhat in a wedge-like fashion, or, at least, that they will terminate *beneath*, and will be open above ; whereas of veins or dikes of Plutonic origin, filled by injected matter from the abyss, it may be received as a general principle, that while they may in some cases terminate in a wedge-like form above, they will be always open below. And, accordingly, much has been built by the Huttonian on dikes open beneath, and much by the Wernerian on similar dikes shut beneath, and merely open a-top. But the section in such cases can convey but an inadequate and doubtful idea of the enclosed mass, whether deposited from above, or injected from below ; and even *were* the idea adequate, and the form of the mass demonstrably ascertained, existing in many cases as a mere fragment which the denuding agent has spared, exceedingly little explanatory of its origin could with propriety be founded upon its form. There exists, I doubt not, many a wedge-shaped bed of trap that has now no connection whatever with the abyssmal depths. It is demonstrable, however, that such trap wedges, though as entirely insulated as yolks or concretions, may have been filled from beneath notwithstanding. Let me attempt an illustration, which may serve also to exemplify my theory of the Bass.

Let us suppose, then, that where Edinburgh Castle now stands there yawned of old the crater of a vol-

cano. The molten lava boiled fiercely within the chasm ; the imprisoned gases struggled hard for egress ; ever and anon showers of ashes and fragments of stone were emitted, and in their descent fell all around, until at length a considerable hill of a true volcanic tuff came to be formed, adown which there rushed from time to time vast beds of molten matter, which, gradually cooling on the slopes, alternated, in the form of trap beds, with the tuff. At length the base of the hill, ever widening by this process, came in the lapse of seasons to extend eastwards to what are now Salisbury Crags,—the Crags being, let us suppose, but a portion of the tuffaceous bottom, topped by one of the lava beds that had issued from the central crater. It will, of course, be at once seen that I am not dealing here with the actual theory of the Crags or Castle Hill : the actual theory the reader may find, if he wills, ingeniously and satisfactorily stated in Mr Maclaren's interesting "Sketches of the Geology of Fife and the Lothians." I am dealing, not with the actualities of the case, but, for the sake of illustration, with what demonstrably *might* have been. Let us suppose, farther, that in the lapse of ages this volcano had become extinct,—that the lava within had hardened in the crater, like a pillar of molten bronze in its mould,—and that then, through the gradual submergence of the land, the eminence had come to be exposed to the denuding powers of the great gulf-stream setting in against it from the west, and the prolonged roll of the waves of the Atlantic, occasionally aggravated by tempest. At first the western base of the hill would begin to wear away, as the tides and billows chafed against the unsolid tuff, and the lava-beds, deeply undermined, broke off in vast masses and tumbled down.

Anon the solid central column, moulded in the crater, would be laid bare; yet anon, thoroughly divested of its case, it would stand out as an insulated stack, with but the tail of softer matter behind it, which it had shielded from the denuding forces. At length, of the entire hill there would remain but the central column, greatly shortened in its altitude, like the trunk of a tree two-thirds cut down,—the ridge on which the more ancient part of the city now stands,—and a portion of the eastern base of the hill, represented by Salisbury Crags, bearing atop a wedge of trap, terminating at what is called the Hunter's Bog, in a thin edge, and, though at one time connected with the insulated column, and by the column with the Plutonic depths below, now cut off by a wide chasm from both. And then at this stage, through an upheaval of the land, let us suppose that the denuding agents had ceased to operate, and that the extinct volcano came to exist permanently as a truncated column of rock, and a detached dike of consolidated lava, open above and shut below,—the one admirably suited to form the site of an impregnable stronghold,—the other to furnish the foundation of a Wernerian argument, conclusive regarding the aqueous origin of trap. The mode of insulation specified here is but one of many in which wedges and over-lying masses of igneous rock, originally derived from the gulf beneath, may have come to exist in altogether as insulated a state as sedimentary beds or travelled boulders.

But the grand question at issue between the two schools of Geology may now be regarded as finally settled; and the trap-rocks, with the exception of the tuffs, in the composition and arrangement of which, as has been shown, both the aqueous and the Plutonic

elements may have been operative, have been made over entire to the Huttonian. No man would venture at this time of day to stand up for the "aquatic formation" of obsidian or pumice, and few indeed for the sedimentary origin of either the greenstone of Salisbury Crags or the hybrid clinkstone of the Bass. The volcanic districts have been explored, and the passage of the lavas into the traps carefully noted, with their resembling powers of disturbance, when ejected into fissures, or existing as dikes. The assistance of the chemist, too, has been called in: trap has been fused into a porous glass, and the glass again re-fused, by a slow process, into a basaltic crystallite, undistinguishable in some specimens from the original rock, or converted, by a process less leisurely, into a liver-like wacke; and lava similarly treated has been made to yield a resembling glass in the first instance, and, as the experiment was conducted more or less slowly, an almost identical crystallite, or a liver-like wacke, in the second. The more ancient rocks have also been put to the question, and a primary hornblende converted in the crucible into an augitic basalt. The quality possessed by the traps of altering other rocks in immediate contact with them has also been examined, and similar alterations produced simply by the agency of heat and pressure. Coal in juxtaposition with a trap-dike has been found converted into coke, clay baked into lydian-stone or jasper, chalk fused into marble; and what the igneous rock did of old in the bowels of the earth, the experimenter has succeeded in doing in his laboratory, with but heat, pressure, and time for his assistants. There are few points better established in the whole circle of geological science, than the igneous origin of the trap-rocks.

The ponderous column of the Bass, to sum up my theory in a few words, is composed, as has been shown, of one of the harder and more solid of these igneous rocks. Rising near the centre of the disturbed district in which it occurs, it indicates, I am inclined to hold, the place of a great crater, at one time filled to the top with molten matter, which, when the fires beneath burnt low, gradually and slowly consolidated into crystallite as it cooled, until it became the unyielding rock which we now find it. The tuffaceous matrix in which it had been moulded, exposed to the denuding agencies, wore piecemeal away; much even of the upper portion of the column itself may have disappeared; and what remains, rising from the level of the sea-bottom below to the height of six hundred feet, may be regarded as the capital-divested top of some pillar of the desert, that, buried by the drifting sand, exhibits but a comparatively small portion of its entire length over the surface, but descends deep into the interior, communicating with the very basement of the edifice to which it belongs.

We had now spent a considerable time on the island, and a lovely day was passing into a still lovelier evening. The sun hung low over the western shoulder of North Berwick Law, in a sky embrowned along the horizon by a diffused vapour, the effect of an incipient frost; and the light, tinged as if with blood, fell in one ruddy sheet athwart the glassy surface of the sea, now undisturbed by a single ripple, and imparted a deep tinge of purple to the brown ruins at our feet, and the lichened rocks around us. The shadow of the Bass, elongated for miles, stretched in darkness towards the east, like the shadow of the mysterious pillar of cloud of old along the sands of the desert; while, dim in the haze towards the north, we could discern, and barely

discern, the uncertain outline of the gray cliffs of May, with its white Pharos atop, that seemed a sheeted spectre,—the solitary inhabitant of some island of Cloudland. The steep precipices of the neighbouring coast frowned dark and cold in the shade, but the red beam slanted warmly along the level expanse of fields atop; and though the stern Tantallan presented to us his shady side, there was a strange brightness in the gleam of his eyes;—the slant light, passing sheer through window and shot-hole, traversed, in long rules of ruddy bronze, the stratum of frosty vapour behind.

There was a magnificent combination of fairy wildness and beauty in the scene. And yet it was all a reality, though a transitory one. It tarnished and faded as the sun sank lower in the cloud, and in a brief half-hour all was enveloped in gray. And then, late in the night, the moon, far in its wane, would arise, and reveal, amid the deep solitude of the islet, a scene of drear and ghostly uncertainties,—jutting cliffs, and broken and roofless walls, and a dark sea around, traversed by one broad pathway of undulating light. And then morning would dawn, and the beam redden and strengthen, and the canvass would exhibit, within the old outlines, another and fresher succession of colours. Thus, with every passing hour and season, and every meteoric change, does the landscape alter,—now tranquil in the calm, anon troubled with tempest; and thus has it ever altered; but not merely has the filling up,—the shades and colours,—done so, but the solid outlines also; and when standing, during this exquisite evening hour, beside the little pyramid on the summit of the rock, I could not help wishing that, under the influence of some such vision as fell upon Mirza in the “long hollow valley of Bagdad,” I could see scene succeed scene in the

surrounding area, from the early dawn of being in the days of the Grauwacke, down to those historic periods during which, doing or suffering, man enacted his part upon the stage. How many of those dark enigmas would not the mere survey serve to solve, which a true though little known poet, Colton, invoked the genius of the inspired Hebrew lawgiver to unriddle !

“ Oh, thou that o’er the Egyptian hurled
 Thy crystal wall, and didst a world
 Both made and marred record,—Oh, deign to tell,
 Seer of the pillared flame and granite well !
 Who taught old Mother Earth to hide
 The lava’s age-repeated tide ;
 And bid,—though centuries toiled in vain,—
 Her thousandth Eden bloom again ;
 Or solve what eras, since the shock
 Of flood and flame, rived hill and rock,
 Have rolled,—to turn to flint and stone
 The Bison’s horn, the Mammoth’s bone !
 Embedded deep and dark they lie,
 Neath mountains heaped on mountains high,
 So long, their very race is spent,—
 They exist but in their monument ;
 But who their mausoleum made ?
 Did earthquakes wield that mighty spade
 That renders all old Babel piled
 But the card castle of a child ?
 Strange, that Creation can’t afford
 Such pomp to shroud her sixth-day’s lord,
 But gives each mean or monstrous thing
 That burial she denies her king.
 These are earth’s secrets,—but to gain
 Those of the Deep *thou* rent in twain,
 ’Twere worth a dull eternity
 Of common life,—to question thee.”

The curtain rises, and there spreads out a wide sea, limited, however, in its area by a dark fog that broods along the horizon, and enveloped, even where best seen, in a gray obscurity, like that of a misty morning in May, an hour before the sun has risen. It is the

ocean of our Scotch Grauwacke that rolls beneath and around us ; but regarding its inhabitants,—so exceedingly numerous and well defined in the contemporary seas of what is now England,—we can do little more than guess. We know merely that it rolls its waves over a gray impalpable mud, to whose numerous folds it communicates in the shallows the characteristic ripple-markings ; that it possesses a chambered shell of the genus *Orthocera*, with two or three obscure brachipods ; and that the gray mud beneath abounds in some localities with a curious zoophite, akin to the existing sea-pens of our deep submarine hollows. The most abundant denizens of that twilight sea are creatures shaped like a quill, or rather communities of creatures,—for each quill is a little republic,—that enjoy their central shaft with its stony axis as common property, and have their rows of microscopic domiciles ranged in the filaments of the web. The light brightens over the wide expanse, and the fog rises ; myriads of ages have passed by ; the countless strata of the Grauwacke are already deposited ; and we have entered on the eras of the Old Red Sandstone. That change has taken place, to the reality of which, as conclusively indicated in space, the judgment of Playfair could not refuse its assent ; but with whose slow operations, as spread over time almost lengthened into eternity, his imagination failed to grapple. The perspective darkened as he looked along the long vista of the ages gone by, and left on his mind but a perplexing and shadowy idea of a dim platform of undefined boundary, on which chaotic revolutions of incalculable vastness were performed during periods of immeasurable extent. It does seem a strange fact, and yet the evidence of its reality as such is incontrovertible, that when the lower beds of the

Old Red Sandstone were, to borrow from the philosopher, "only beginning to be deposited in the shape of mud or sand, from the waters of a superincumbent ocean," the Grauwacke on which they were thrown down was quite as old a looking rock as it is now, and that the numerous graptolites preserved in its strata existed at the time but as the dimly preserved fossils which we now see them,—miniature quills, with thickly serrated edges, drawn in glossy bitumen on a ground of gray.

With the beginnings of the Old Red Sandstone a slight change takes place in the colouring of the prospect. There is a flush of ochrey red over yondershallow, where the wave beats on the ferruginous sand; the skerry beyond seems darkened with sea-weed; and though we are still, as before, out of sight of land, and so can know little regarding its productions, we may see a minute branch of club-moss floating past, and the trunk of some coniferous tree, and can, in consequence, at least determine that land there is. But mark how brightly the depths gleam with the mirror-like reflection of scales,—scales resplendent with enamel, that owe their name—*ganoid*, or glittering—to their brilliancy. How strangely uncouth the forms of these ancient denizens of the deep, and, in some instances, how monstrous their size! Yonder, swimming leisurely a few feet under the surface, as if watching the play of a distant shoal of *Diplopteri*, is the ponderous *Asterolepis*,—its glassy eyes set in their triangular sockets, as in some families of snakes, immediately over its mouth,—its head armed with a dermal covering of bone, from which a musket-bullet would rebound as from a stone-wall,—its body tiled over with oblong scales, delicately carved, like the inlaid mail of a warrior,—its jaws fur-

nished with their outer tier of minute thickly set fish-teeth, and their inner tier of reptile-teeth greatly bulkier than those of the crocodile, and set at wide intervals, after the sauroid pattern. And yonder,—a member of the same family, of larger scale and more squat, though somewhat less colossal in its proportions,—swims the strong *Holoptychius*. The numerous flights of *Pterichthys*, with their compact bodies, spread wings, and rudder-like tails, resemble flocks of submarine birds; the plated *Coccosteus* and the broad *Glyptolepis* flap heavily along the bottom; crowds of minute *Cheiracanthi*, with all their various cogeners, bristling with spines, and poised on membranaceous, scale-covered fins, dart hither, thither, and athwart, in the green stratum above; while dimly seen, a huge Crustacean creeps slowly over the ribbed sand beneath. But ages and centuries pass in quick succession as the waves roll along the surface,—species and genera pass away, families become extinct, races perish; the rocks of the Old Red Sandstone, holding in their stony folds their numerous strange organisms, are all laid down, as those of the *Grauwacke* had been previously deposited; and the scene changes as the unsummed periods of the system reach their close.

There is a further increase in the light, as the day advances and the sun climbs the steep of heaven; but the fogs of morning still hang their dense folds on the horizon. We shall look out for the land when the mist rises;—it cannot now be far distant. The brown eddies of a freshet circle past, restricted, as where vast rivers mingle with the ocean, to an upper layer of sea; and broken reeds, withered ferns, the cones of the *Lycopodiaceæ*, and of trees of the *Araucarian* family, float outwards in the current, thick and frequent

as the spoils of the great Mississippi in the course of the voyager, when he has come within half-a-day's sail of the shores of the delta. But our view is still restricted, as heretofore, to a wide tract of sea,—now whitened, where the frequent flats and banks rise within a few fathoms of the surface, by innumerable beds of shells, reefs of corals, and forests of crinoidea. Here the water seems all a-glow with the brilliant colours of the living polypi that tenant the calcareous cells,—green, scarlet, and blue, yellow and purple: we seem as if looking down on gorgeous parterres, submerged, when in full blow, or, through the dew-bedimmed panes of a greenhouse, on the magnificent heaths, geraniums, and cacti of the warmer latitudes, when richest in flower. Yonder there lie vast argosies of snowy terebratula, each fast anchored to the rocky bottom by the fleshy cable that stretches from the circular dead-eye in its umbone, like the mooring chain from the prow of a galley; while directly over them, vibrating in the tide, stretches the marble-like petals of the stone lily. The surface is ploughed by the numerous sailing shells of the period,—huge orthocera, and the whorled nautilaceæ and goniatites. And fish abound as before, though the races are all different. We may mark the smaller varieties in play over the coral beds,—the lively *Palæoniscus*, that so resembles a gold-fish cased in bone,—and the squat deeply-bodied *Amblypterus*, with its nicely fretted scales and plates, and its strongly rayed fins. The *Gyracanthus*, with its massy spine carved as elaborately as the 'prentice pillar in Roslin, swims through the profounder depths, uncertain in outline, like a moving cloud by night; while the better defined *Megalichthys*, with its coat of bright quadrangular scales, and its

closely-jointed and finely-punctulated helmet of enamelled bone, glides vigorously along yonder submarine field of crinoidea, and the slim stony arms and tall columnar stems brushed by its fins, bend, as it passes, like a swathe of tall grass swept by a sudden breeze. We are full in the middle of the era of the Carboniferous Limestone. And some of us may be rendered both wiser and humbler, mayhap, by noting a simple fact or two directly connected with this formation, ere the curtain drop over it.

We have already marked, in our survey, numerous beds of shells, glimmering pale through the shallows;—here argosies of terebratula anchored to the rocks beneath,—there fleets of chambered nautilacea, careering along the surface of the waters above. But it is chiefly on the fixed shells,—the numerous bivalves of the profounder depths,—that I would now ask the reader to concentrate his attention. They belong, in large proportion, to a class imperfectly represented in the existing seas, and which had comparatively few representatives during even the Secondary periods, rich as these were in molluscs of high development; though, during the great Palæozoic division, their vast abundance formed one of the most remarkable characteristics of the period. Of this class (the Brachipoda of the modern naturalist), many hundred species have already been determined in the older rocks of our island; while, as living inhabitants of the seas which encircle it, Dr Fleming, in his “British Animals,” enumerates but *four* species; and none of these,—such is their rarity,—the greater part of my readers ever saw.* These Brachipoda, of which in the Carboniferous Lime-

* *TEREBRATULA* *cranium*, *T. psittacea*, *T. aurita*, and *CRISPUS anomalus*.

stone there existed the numerous families of the *Terebratula*, the *Spirifer*, and the *Productus*, were in all their species bivalves of an exceedingly helpless class; the valves, instead of being united, as in the cockle, mussel, pecten, and oyster, by strong elastic hinges, were merely sewed together, if I may so speak, by bundles of unelastic fleshy fibres; and the opening of the lips a very little apart,—so simple and facile a movement to the ordinary bivalve,—was to the Brachipod an achievement feebly accomplished through the agency of an operose and complex machinery. To compensate, however, for the defect, the creatures were furnished on both sides the mouth with numerous *cilia*, or hair-like appendages, through the rapid vibratory movements of which they could produce minute currents in the water, and thus bring into the interior of their shells, between lips raised but a line apart, the numerous particles of organic matter floating around them which constituted their proper food. They resembled in their mode of living rather the orders below them,—radiata such as the *Actinea*, or zoophytes such as the *Tubulariadae*,—than true molluscs. But there are no mistakes in the work of the Divine Mechanician: in the absence of an elastic hinge, the minute *cilia* performed their part; and so throughout the vast periods of the Palæozoic division the helpless Brachipoda continued to exist in vastly greater numbers than any of their contemporaries.

Now, it is a curious circumstance that Paley, when adducing, in his “*Natural Theology*,” some of the marks of design so apparent in the hinge of bivalves, such as the cockle and oyster, misses by far the most important point exhibited in its construction; and so converts his bivalves into poor helpless brachipoda, unfurnished

with the compensatory *cilia*. It is further curious that, in the elaborate edition of the "Theology," jointly published by Lord Brougham and Sir Charles Bell, though there be a neat wood-cut of the Venus-heart Cockle given, to illustrate their author's idea, the omitted point is not noticed. "In the bivalve order of shell-fish," says the Archdeacon—"cockles, mussels, oysters, &c.—what contrivance can be so simple or so clear as the insertion at the back of a tough tendinous substance, that becomes at once the *ligament* which binds the two shells together, and the *hinge* upon which they open and shut." Most true!—the inserted cartilage is both ligament and hinge; but even some of the helpless brachipoda have, in the one insertion at their back, both ligament and hinge, and are helpless brachipoda notwithstanding; whereas the cockle, oyster, mussel, and all bivalves of their order, can do what the brachipoda cannot—open their shells with great promptitude; and at least a few of them can, like the pecten, dart edgeways through the water, like missiles thrown by the hand, simply by the rapid shutting of their valves again. These have been described as the butterflies of the sea. Whence comes this opening power, which Paley's description so evidently does not involve? The power of opening the human palm resides in the muscles on the back of the fore-arm; the power of shutting it, in the muscles in the front of the fore-arm directly opposite. These last—the muscles operative in shutting the palm—are in the cockle, and all other bivalves of its class, represented by the adductor muscles; but what represents in the shell those antagonist muscles by which the palm is opened? The bivalve, from its peculiar construction, can have no antagonist muscles; its little circle of life is bounded

by the lips of the two valves ; and as the proper place of the antagonist muscles would be of necessity on the outside of the shell, far beyond that circle of vitality, antagonist muscles it cannot possibly possess ; and yet, whenever the creature wills it, the work of the missing muscles is promptly performed. Now, mark how this happens. The cartilage inserted at the back is, according to Paley, at once the *ligament* which binds the two shells together, and the *hinge* upon which they open and shut ; but it is yet something more,—it is a powerful *spring*, compressed, and, if I may use the phrase, “set on full cock,” by the strain of the adductor muscles ; and no sooner is that strain relaxed than up flies the valve,—like some ingeniously contrived trap-door, when one releases the steel-spring,—in obedience to the mechanical force locked up for use in the powerfully elastic bit of cartilage, that without derangement or confusion serves so many various purposes. Sir Godfrey Kneller is said to have remarked, in the plenitude of his conceit, that if God Almighty had taken *his* advice on some important points of contrivance, matters would probably have been better on the whole ; and the saying is recorded as characteristic of the irreverent vanity of the artist. Alas, poor addle-headed coxcomb ! Paley and his two editors—men of high standing compared with Sir Godfrey—could not have been entrusted, it would seem, by the great First Designer with the construction of even the hinge of a bivalve. The cockles, oysters, pectens, and mussels, hinged by them, would be all helpless brachipoda, with not only no spring in their hinges, but also unfurnished with the compensatory apparatus within, and would, in consequence, become extinct in a week. Is there no lesson here ?

But, lo ! the mist rises, and slowly dissipates in the sun ; and yonder, scarce half-a-mile away, is the land, —a low swampy shore, covered by a rank vegetation. Thickets of tall plants, of strange form and singular luxuriance, droop over the coast-edge into the sea, like those mangrove jungles of Southern America, that bear on their branches crops of oysters. There are reeds, with their light coronals of spiky leaves radiating from their numerous joints, that rival the masts of vessels in size,—ferns, whose magnificent fronds overshadow half a rood of surface, that attain to the bulk and height of forest trees,—club-mosses, tall as Norwegian pines,—and strangely carved, cacti-looking, leaf-covered trunks, bulky as the body of a man. Nor is there any lack of true trees, that resemble those of the existing period, as exhibited in the southern hemisphere,—stately araucarians, that lift their proud heads a hundred feet over the soil,—and spiky pines, that raise their taper trunks and cone-covered boughs to a scarce lower elevation. And yonder green and level land, dank with steaming vapour, and where the golden light streams through long bosky vistas, crowded with prodigies of the vegetable kingdom,—*Sigillaria*, *Favularia*, and *Ulodendra*,—is the land of the Coal Measures.

Three of the great geologic periods, comprising almost the whole of the Palæozoic division, have already gone by ; and yet the history of the Bass as an igneous rock is still to begin. But we have at least laid down the groundwork of the surrounding landscape. And be it remembered that all these scenes, however much they may seem the work of fancy, were realities connected with the laying of these deep foundations,—realities which might have been as certainly witnessed from the point in space now occupied by the rude

crowning pyramid of the Bass,—had there been a human eye to look abroad, or a human sensorium to receive the impressions which it conveyed,—as the scene furnished by the lovely sunset of this evening. Sir Roderick Murchison, in his magnificent “*Silurian System*,” has given the example of rendering landscapes according to their real outlines, but coloured according to the tints of the geologic map; and the practice possesses the advantage of making the diverse features of the various formations address themselves with peculiar emphasis to the eye. Were the real landscape which the summit of the Bass commands to be so coloured, we would see its wide area composed of characteristic representatives of each of the three systems, whose successive depositions we have described. The distant promontory to the east, on which Fast Castle stands, with the hills in the interior that sweep along the entire back-ground of the prospect, would bear the deep purple tinge appropriated by the geologist to the *Grauwacke*. Leaning at their feet, from the *Siccar Point* to *Gifford*, and from *Gifford* to *Fala*, besides abutting on the sea in insulated patches,—as at *North Berwick*, *Canty Bay*, *Tantallan*, *Seacliff*, and *Belhaven*,—we would next see, spread over a large space in the scene, the deep chocolate tint assigned, not unappropriately, to the *Old Red*. From *Cockburnspath* to *Dunbar* on the one hand, and from *Aberlady Bay* to *Arthur’s Seat* on the other, the landscape would exhibit the cold gray hue of the *Coal Measures*, here and there mottled with the light azure that distinguishes in the map the *Carboniferous Limestone*; while the trap eminences, with the tuff of the opposite shore, and the island mass at our feet, would flame in the deep crimson of the geologic colourist,—as if the igneous rocks of which they are composed still

retained the red heat of their molten condition. Such would be the conventional colouring of the landscape ; vast tracts of purple, of chocolate, of gray, and of blue, would indicate the proportional space occupied in its area by the three great systems that have furnished us with a picture a-piece ; and what we have now to conjure up,—the platform of the stage being fairly erected, and its various coverings laid down,—is the scene illustrative of the origin and upheaval of the various trap-rocks that have come to form the bolder features of the prospect,—among the rest, supreme in the centre of the disturbed district, the stately column of the Bass.

The land of the Coal Measures has again disappeared ; and a shoreless but shallow ocean, much vexed by currents, and often lashed by tempest, spreads out around, as during the earlier periods. But there are more deeply-seated heavings that proceed from the centre of the immediate area over which we stand, than ever yet owed their origin to storm or tide. Ever and anon waves of dizzy altitude roll outwards towards the horizon, as if raised by the fall of some such vast pebble as the blind Cyclops sent whizzing through the air after the galley of Ulysses, when

“ The whole sea shook, and reflux beat the shore.”

We may hear, too, deep from the abyss, the growlings as of a subterranean thunder, loud enough to drown the nearer sounds of both wave and current. And now, as the huge kraken lifts its enormous back over the waves, the solid strata beneath rise from the bottom in a flat dome, crusted with shells and corals, and dark with algæ. The billows roll back,—the bared strata heave, and crack, and sever,—a dense smouldering vapour issues from the opening rents and fissures ;—and

now the stony pavement is torn abruptly asunder, like some mildewed curtain seized rudely by the hand,—a broad sheet of flame mounts sudden as lightning through the opening, a thousand fathoms into the sky,—

“ Infuriate molten rocks and flaming globes,
Mount high above the clouds”—

and the volcano is begun. Meanwhile, the whole region around, far as the eye can reach, heaves wildly in the throes of Plutonic convulsion. Above many a rising shallow, the sea boils and roars, as amid the skerries of some rocky bay open to the unbroken roll of the ocean in a time of tempest; the platform of sedimentary rock over an area of many square miles is fractured like the ice of some Highland tarn, during a hasty spring thaw that swells every mountain streamlet into a river; waves of translation, produced at once in numerous centres by the sudden upheaval of the bottom, meet and conflict under canopies of smoke and ashes; the light thickens as the reek ascends, and, amid the loud patter of the ejected stones and pumice, as they descend upon the sea,—the roaring of the flames,—the rending of rocks,—the dash of waves,—and the hollow internal grumblings of earthquakes,—dark night comes down upon the deep. Vastly extended periods pass away; there are alternate pauses and paroxysms of convulsion; and ere the Plutonic agencies, worn out in the struggle, are laid fairly asleep, and the curtain again rises, the entire scene is changed. Of the old sedimentary rocks there remain, in a wide tract, only a few insulated beds, half-buried in enormous accumulations of volcanic debris,—debris stratified by the waves, and consolidated into a tolerably adhesive tuff by the superincumbent pressure, and here traversed by long dikes

of basalt, and there overlaid by ponderous beds of greenstone. The Bass towers before us as a tall conical hill, deeply indented atop by the now silent crater,—its slopes formed of loose ashes and rude fragments of ejected rock, and with the flush of sulphur, here of a deep red, there of a golden yellow, still bright on its sides.

Let us rightly conceive of the hill in this, the last of its bygone aspects. Nearly two centuries ago there was a large tract of land covered over, in the north of Scotland, by blown sand; and among the other interred objects,—such as human dwellings, sheep and cattle-folds, gateways, and the fences of fields and gardens,—there were several orchard trees, enveloped in the dry deluge, and buried up. Of one of these it is said that the upper branches projected for several years from the top of the pyramidal hillock that had formed around it, and that they continued to produce in their season a few stunted leaves, with here and there a sickly blossom; but the branches at length dried up and disappeared, and for more than a century there were scarce any of the inhabitants of the neighbouring district who seemed to know what it was the conical hillock contained. And then the prevailing winds that had so long before covered up the orchard tree began to scoop out the sides of its arenaceous tumulus, and to lay bare twig and branch, and at length the trunk itself; but the rotting damp, operating on the wood in a state of close seclusion from the free air, had wrought their natural work; and as the tumulus crumbled away, the twigs and boughs, with the upper portion of the trunk, crumbled away also; till at length, when the entire enveloping material was removed, there remained of the tree but an upright stump, that rose a few feet over

the soil. Now, the conical envelop or tumulus of debris and ashes which at this stage composes the exterior covering of the Bass, resembles exactly that which surrounded, in the buried barony of Cubin, the orchard-tree; while its stony centre of trap, moulded in the tubular crater, with its various branch-like arms bent earthwards like those of the weeping ash,—the remains of eruptive currents flowing outwards and downwards,—represent the tree itself. The denuding agent is not, as in the sandy wastes of Moray, the keen dry wind of the west, but the slow wear, prolonged through many ages, of waves and currents. The sloping sides crumble down,—the stony branches fall, undermined, into the tide, and are swept away,—until at length, as in the orchard-tree of my illustration, there remains but an abrupt and broken stump,—the ancient storm-worn island of the Bass.

The enormous amount of denudation which the theories of the geologist demand, however consonant with his observations of fact, may well startle the uninitiated. The Lower Coal Measures appear on three sides of this disturbed district; they may be traced, as has been shown in the immediate neighbourhood of Dunbar to the east; they occur at Abbey Toll, near Haddington, on the south; and they extend a little beyond Aberlady Bay on the west; while the sedimentary rocks that appear in the centre of the area, directly opposite the Bass, belong, as has also been shown, to an inferior member of the Old Red Sandstone. The surrounding Coal Measures form the edges of a broken dome, that, upheaved originally by the volcanic forces, as a bubble in a crucible of boiling sulphur is inflated and upheaved by the imprisoned gas, has been ground down, as it rose, by the denuding

agencies, until in the centre of the area the Lower Old Red Rocks have been laid bare. And so immense was the dome, though, of course, destroyed piecemeal as it rose,—as a log in a saw-mill is cut piecemeal by being gradually impelled on the saw,—that immediately over the Bass it would have now risen, had it been suffered to mount unworn and unbroken, to an altitude scarce inferior to that of Ben Nevis or Ben Macdui. In this region of birds,—dwellers on the dizzy cliff,—no bird soars half so high as the imaginary dotted line some three or four thousand feet over the level, at which, save for the wear of the waves when the volcanic agencies were propelling the surface upwards, the higher layers of the Coal Measures would now have stood. Denudation to an extent equally great has taken place immediately over the site of the city of Edinburgh. Lunardi, in his balloon, never reached the point, high over our towers and spires, at which, save for the waste of ocean, the upper coal-seams would at this moment have lain. There are various localities in Scotland in which the loss of surface must have been greater still; and fancy, overborne by visions of waste and attrition on a scale so gigantic, can scarce take the conception in; far less can the mind, when unassisted by auxiliary facts, receive it as a reality. Viewed, however, in connection with the vast periods which have intervened since the last of these denuded rocks were formed,—and, be it remembered, that immediately after their formation denudation may have begun,—viewed, too, in connection with that work of deposition which has been going on during these periods elsewhere, and with the self-evident truth that, mainly from the wear of the older rocks have the materials of the newer been derived,—it grows into credibility,

and takes its place among kindred wonders, simply as one of the facts of a class. During the *denudation*, to the depth of three or four thousand feet, of the tract of country where the capital of Scotland now stands, a *deposition* to a vastly greater depth was taking place in the tract of country occupied by the capital of England. Nor does it seem in any degree more strange that the rocks in the one locality should have been ground down from the red sandstones of Roslin to the calciferous beds which underlie the Mountain Limestone, than that strata should have been laid over strata in the other, from the Triassic group to the Oolite, and from the Oolite to the London Clay. Had there not been immense waste and attrition among the Primary and Palæozoic rocks, there could have been no Secondary formations, and no Tertiary system.

My history speeds on to its conclusion. We dimly descry, amid fog and darkness, yet one scene more. There has been a change in the atmosphere, and the roar of flame, and the hollow voice of earthquake, are succeeded by the howling of wintry tempests and the crash of icebergs. Wandering fragments of the northern winter, bulky as hills, go careering over the submerged land, grinding down its softer rocks and shales into clay, leaving inscribed their long streaks and furrows on its traps and its limestones, and thickly strewing the surface of one district with the detached ruins of another. To this last of the geologic revolutions the deep grooves and furrows of the rocks in the immediate neighbourhood of North Berwick belong, with the immense boulders of travelled rock which one occasionally sees in the interior on moors and hill-sides, or standing out along the sea coast, disinterred by the waves from amid their banks of gravel or clay. But

this last scene in the series I find drawn to my hand, though for another purpose, by the poet who produced the "Ancient Mariner:"—

"Anon there come both mist and snow,
And it grows wondrous cold;
And ice mast-high comes floating by
As green as emerald;
And through the drifts, the snowy cliffs,
Doth send a dismal sheen;
Nor shapes of men nor beasts we ken,—
The ice is all between.
The ice is here, the ice is there,
The ice is all around;
It cracks and growls, and roars and howls,
Like noises in a swound."

But the day breaks, and the storm ceases, and the submerged land lifts up its head over the sea, and the Bass, in the fair morn of the existing creation, looms tall and high to the new-risen sun,—then, as now,

"An island salt and bare,
The haunt of seals and orca, and sea-mews' clang."

THE MARTYRS OF THE BASS.

BY THE REV. JAMES ANDERSON.

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[This list of the Bass prisoners will be found to differ considerably from that of Dr Crichton, annexed to his Memoirs of Mr John Blackadder. It contains several names which he has omitted, and wants twelve which he has erroneously included. Our reasons for excluding them are given in Appendix No. I. p. 378.]

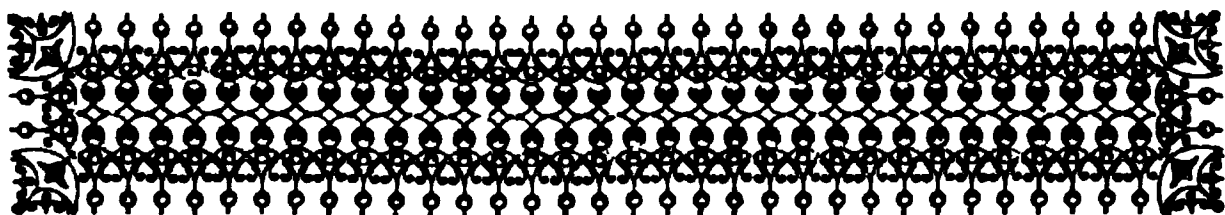
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1.	Anderson, Patrick	Minister of Walston.	April 1678.	July 19. 1679.	260
2.	Bell, William	Preacher.	Oct. 12. 1676.	July 19. 1679.	110
3.	Bennet, Robert	of Chesters.	June 28. 1677.	Feb. 18. 1678.	203
4.	Blackadder, John	Minister of Traquair.	April 6. 1681.	Dec. 3. 1685.	350
5.	Campbell, Sir Hugh	of Cesnock. {	Sept. 15. 1679.	}	371
			Close of 1685.	}	
6.	Campbell, Sir Geo.	of Cesnock. {	Sept. 15. 1679.	}	372
			Close of 1685.	}	
7.	Campbell, John	Minister in Ireland.	May 31. 1678.	Uncertain.	271
8.	Dick, Robert {	Saltgrieve to Lord Car-	Oct. 12. 1676.	Sept. 1678.	121
		ington.			
9.	Dickson, John	Minister of Rutherglen.	Sept. 1. 1680.	Oct. 8. 1686.	314
10.	Drummond, Jas. {	Chaplain to Marchioness	Jan. 28. 1677.	Oct. 5. 1677.	199
		of Argyle.			
11.	Dunbar, Alexander	Preacher.	Feb. 1685.	1686.	373
12.	Fithie, James {	Chaplain of Trinity Hos-	April 1685.	March 1686.	374
		pital, Edinburgh.			
13.	Forrester, Alex.	Minister of St Mungo.	Aug. 3. 1667.	1677.	106
14.	Fraser, James	of Brea.	Jan. 29. 1677.	July 19. 1679.	124
15.	Gillespie, Robert	Preacher.	April 2. 1673.	Jan. 8. 1674.	13
16.	Gordon, Alexander	of Earlston.	Aug. 7. 1684.	Aug. 22. 1684.	369
17.	Greig, John	Minister at Carstairs.	May 1685.	July 15. 1686.	80
18.	Hog, Thomas	Minister of Kiltearn.	Feb. 1677.	July 19. 1679.	174
19.	Kid, Peter	Minister at Carluke.	May 1685.	Sept. 21. 1686.	375
20.	Law, John	Minister of Campsie.	April 1679.	July 19. 1679.	276
21.	Learmont, Joseph {	Major in the Covenan-	May 13. 1682.	1687.	367
		ters' Army.			
22.	Lin, William	Writer in Edinburgh.	July 14. 1681.	Uncertain.	367
23.	Macaulay, James	Preacher.	April 4. 1679.	July 19. 1679.	290
24.	M'Gilligen, John	Minister of Fodderty. {	Close of 1677.	July 19. 1679.	} 235
			July 28. 1683.	July 1686.	
25.	Mitchell, James	Preacher.	Jan. 29. 1677.	Dec. 6. 1677.	58
26.	Peden, Alexander {	Minister of New Glen-	June 26. 1673.	Oct. 9. 1677.	24
		luce.			
27.	Potter, Michael	Preacher.	Early in 1683.	{ March or	} 368
				{ April 1685.	
28.	Rae, John	Minister of Symington.	Sept. 15. 1683.		370
29.	Riddell, Archibald	Minister at Kippen.	June 9. 1681.	Dec. 24. 1684.	363
30.	Ross, Thomas	Minister in the North.	Uncertain.	Uncertain.	97
31.	Ross, Robert	Preacher.	April 4. 1679.	July 19. 1679.	288
32.	Rule, Gilbert {	Minister at Preston-	April 8. 1680.	July 13. 1680.	291
		haugh.			
33.	Scot, George	of Pitlochrie.	Feb. 8. 1677.	Oct. 5. 1677.	157
34.	Shields, Alexander	Preacher.	Aug. 7. 1685.	Oct. 8. 1686.	376
35.	Spence, William	Schoolmaster in Fife.	May 1685.	July 20. 1686.	376
36.	Spreul, John	Apothecary in Glasgow.	July 14. 1681.	May 12. 1687.	366
37.	Spreul, John	Town Clerk of Glasgow.	July 28. 1683.		369
38.	Stewart, John {	Minister of a parish in	Feb. 1685.	June 21. 1686.	372
		the Presby. of Deer.			
39.]	Traill, Robert	Minister at Cranbrook.	July 19. 1677.	Oct. 5. 1677.	217

* This column gives the date of the act of the Privy Council for the imprisonment of the sufferers, but the order was not always immediately carried into effect.

† This column in like manner gives the date of the act of the Council for the release of the prisoners, but not unfrequently some time elapsed before it was carried into effect; and in several instances the prisoner, though released from the Bass, was still confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.



THE MARTYRS OF THE BASS.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE introducing our readers to the worthy men who were imprisoned in the Bass for Presbyterian principles in the reign of Charles II., it will be necessary to give a general account of the state of matters consequent upon the restoration of that Prince to the throne of his fathers, till the period when the first prisoner appears upon the stage.

The restoration of Charles was highly popular in Scotland among all ranks, and the most extravagant rejoicing every where prevailed. By no party was it hailed with more satisfaction and joy than by the great body of the Presbyterians, who were among his most devoted adherents, and who had expended much blood and treasure in his interest under the government of Cromwell, to whom they reluctantly submitted,

and whose authority they were eager to throw off, notwithstanding the prospering state of the country under his administration. Lord Clarendon affirms that the restoration of Charles was "such a prodigious act of providence as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any nation since he led his own chosen people through the Red Sea."* And certainly the active exertions made by the Presbyterians for his restoration, as well as their demonstrations of joy upon it, seemed to indicate that they regarded it as an event equally memorable. In the exuberance of their loyalty, and charitably hoping that his early misfortunes had taught him wisdom, they invested him with every quality fitted to adorn the monarch of a great empire ; and drew the most flattering pictures of the prosperity of his reign. But they were unacquainted with his true character and principles ; and their expectations were sadly disappointed. His past life had been a career of licentiousness. He had imbibed the same principles of absolute power which his sapient Majesty King James VI. employed his pen as well as his sceptre to defend, and which brought the less fortunate Charles I. to the scaffold. He hated Presbytery because its genius, though not inconsistent with a limited monarchy, is favourable to the principles of liberty ; and he loved Prelacy, not, we grant, abstractly considered,—for he was too much the slave of pleasure to care much about forms of church government, as such,—but because it would prove a far more convenient instrument for advancing the absolute power of the crown. He had indeed sworn the Solemn League and Covenant, and had engaged to maintain the government and privileges of the Church of Scotland as established by law, and pro-

* History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 691.

fessed to the Commissioners sent to him, both from Scotland and England, to Breda, very liberal views and strong attachment to the Covenant, which was regarded as the Magna Charta of the religious rights and liberties of these nations. But in all this he acted the part of a consummate hypocrite, and only waited his opportunity to belie all his fine promises and solemn engagements.* No sooner was he restored to the throne than, perfidiously violating the covenant he had sworn, and ungratefully insulting the Presbyterians, his best friends, he proceeded to overturn the Presbyterian polity ; in which he was encouraged and aided by men as unprincipled as himself. An act of Parliament, entitled "The Act of Supremacy," was passed, making the King supreme judge in all matters civil and ecclesiastical, and another called "The Act Rescissory," annulling all the laws made during the

* It is wonderful how successful Charles was in imposing upon those Commissioners. John Livingstone, one of those sent to him from Scotland to Breda in 1650, had the discernment to discover his true character, "nevertheless of his dissembling hypocritical feigned lipped prayers in his closet, a partition wall betwixt him and the Commissioners sent to treat with him, praying aloud for the advancement of the covenanted reformation in Scotland, and for perfecting the work of uniformity betwixt the three nations, according to their solemn vows and the Solemn League and Covenant," (Biograph. Presby. vol. ii. p. 5) ; but the rest do not appear to have been equally penetrating. Not less successful was he in imposing upon the English Commissioners, (among whom were some ministers,) deputed to wait upon him at the Hague in 1660, to congratulate his restoration. "His Majesty," says Oldmixon, "contrived it so that the ministers should be placed in a chamber, as by accident, which joined to a closet where the King was to be at prayers, and he thanked God for being a *covenanted* King. Those who were imposed upon wrote home that 'the King of the covenant was coming ;' but," adds the same writer, "others of them heard such accounts of his morals and principles, that they began to raise fears in the breasts of the most sanguine." Quoted in Calamy's Life and Times, in Note by the Editor, vol. i. p. 108. Similar apprehensions were entertained by some in Scotland. (Biographia Presbyteriana, vol. ii. p. 6).

period of the second reformation in favour of Presbytery. Next, the King, by virtue of the supreme power in matters ecclesiastical, granted him by the former of these acts, restored, with the aid of his Parliament, the government of the church by Bishops. Prelacy being thus established, measures were adopted to bring ministers to conform to the new order of things. In the Parliament held at Edinburgh in May 1662, an act was passed ordaining all ministers who had entered to the cure of any parish since 1649, to receive presentations from their respective patrons, and, at the same time, collations from the bishop of the diocese within which they resided, before the 20th of September that year, as necessary to their having a legal right to their churches, benefices, manses, and glebes. With this act nearly four hundred ministers nobly refused to comply, convinced that to do so was inconsistent with the principles which they had solemnly sworn to maintain, and which they believed to be founded on the word of God ; and that it would be in effect to admit that they derived their ministry from the civil magistrate through the channel of the prelates, on which account they might more properly be called the ministers or servants of men than the ambassadors of Christ or the messengers of his Church. For this refusal they were speedily ejected from their charges. But simple ejectment would have failed of the end contemplated—the subversion of Presbytery and the secure establishment of Prelacy. The curates by whom they were succeeded possessed none of those qualifications which were fitted to conciliate, either towards themselves or towards the system which they supported, the favour of the people upon whom they were intruded. They were generally ignorant, dissolute, profane, and irreli-

gious, at once unqualified for the ministry and neglectful of its duties. Several of the ablest among them had imbibed and taught Popish, Arminian, Pelagian, and Socinian heresies, such as, man's power by nature to will and do what is spiritually good,—universal redemption,—a species of justification by works, or by a personal inherent righteousness, derogating from, if not involving, a denial of the satisfaction Christ made by his sufferings for the sins of the elect, and of the imputation of his righteousness to believers; they denied the supernatural and special influences of the Spirit in regeneration, derided Christian exercise as delusion and fanaticism, and indulged in bitter invectives against the first reformers and the manner in which they carried on the work of reformation. Such men were not likely to gain the good will and respect of a pious peasantry, who had enjoyed the pure and faithful preaching of the gospel by ministers eminent for piety, highly respectable for their ministerial qualifications, and zealous in the discharge of their pastoral duties. Between the curates and such ministers there was the greatest possible contrast.*

* Wodrow MSS. vol. xcix., 4to, no. 17, p. 26. The following extract from a letter written by "a field meeter" to a friend, entitled "An Apology for Field Meetings, June 1678," expresses the sentiments held at that time by the Presbyterians generally on this subject:—"I am persuaded, that all sober men who rightly consider the nature, fashion, and fruits of these two sorts of ministers and their ministry will already grant, that the very all of our religion, that is, the glory of God and our soul's salvation, are most deeply concerned in the difference. Men dispute about forms, and amuse themselves with vain searches; but, as things are now stated, their agreement and disagreement to me comes shortly to this, that both serve their own masters, the bishops' curates, instigated by their own lusts, and set up by men, do their own work; and our poor persecuted ministers engaged by better motives, and sent by our Lord Jesus, do accordingly pursue his will and pleasure." Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxvi., 4to, no. 9.

Had the outed ministers been allowed to continue to preach, the great body of the people would have followed them, the churches from which they had been expelled would have been deserted, and, enjoying toleration, Presbytery would have flourished as vigorously, if not more so, than if it had been taken under the fostering care of the State. It was, therefore, indispensably necessary to the success of the project upon which the King and his government had entered that these ministers should be silenced. This led to the enactment of severe laws against such of them as preached at *conventicles*,—the name applied by the government to meetings held by them for preaching the gospel, in private houses, churches, or the fields,—and against those who withdrew from public ordinances in their own parish churches, and attended such meetings. By the second act of the Parliament held at Edinburgh in June 1663, entitled “Act against separation and disobedience to ecclesiastical authority,” the Privy Council are recommended to call before them such ejected ministers as, without having received presentations from patrons and collations from their bishops, “yet dared to preach in contempt of the law, and to punish them as seditious persons and contemners of the royal authority;” while all are enjoined to attend public worship in their own parish churches, and those who absent themselves are declared to incur certain pains and penalties as fines, &c., according to their rank and circumstances in life. This act, which was termed “the bishops’ drag net,” became a powerful instrument for oppressing the Presbyterians.* To carry its purpose into effect, Sir James Turner was sent with a troop of soldiers to the south and west, where the greatest dis-

* Wodrow’s History, vol. i. p. 351.

satisfaction with the change introduced in the government of the church existed ; and he grievously oppressed the country by the exaction of fines, by plunder, free quarters, and other harassing annoyances, practised on such as refused subjection to the bishops and curates. But the opinions of men cannot be altered or eradicated by the terror of penal statutes and the infliction of suffering. The minds of the people, so far from being convinced, became irritated ; and the rising at Pentland Hills followed soon after.

This insurrection, though quelled, instead of extinguishing the Presbyterian cause, had the very opposite effect. It was followed by a more general contempt of the prelatic clergy and withdrawment from their worship. The people, as if endued with a new spirit, became bold and fearless, resolved to endure persecution and death rather than desert what they deemed to be the cause of Christ. Before this, meetings had been held in private houses, and in some though rare instances, in the fields, both in the south and west ; but now the outed ministers began more generally and more frequently to preach, though at first very privately and often in the night. Their sermons, listened to by multitudes, were accompanied with such eminent success, that the people came to prize the preaching of the gospel more highly, and to seek after it with increased earnestness. Hence arose preaching in the fields ; those who assembled from all parts of the country, to hear the gospel, being so numerous as to render it impossible for any house to contain them. The government regarded their assemblages with great jealousy. They stigmatised them as “disorderly meetings,”—“unlawful meetings upon pretence of religion,”—“seditious field conventicles,” “kept in a tumultuous

way," where the people heard "declared traitors," "intercommuned vagrant preachers," and those "who without licence and authority do impiously assume the holy orders of the church."* Nothing could exceed the orderly manner in which the people assembled to these meetings, and dispersed when public worship was ended. Although branded as nurseries of rebellion, their design was most peaceable, and it formed no part of the employment of the ministers who officiated at them to inveigh against those in power. But the Privy Council determined to put them down, and learning that, in some instances, the people brought arms with them, although simply for self-defence against the soldiers who were let loose upon the country to apprehend ministers and such as attended conventicles, passed in 1670 an act prohibiting house conventicles under severe penalties, and making it a capital crime to preach at field conventicles, or to convocate the people to such meetings. By this act a minister preaching to a house full of people, if some happened to be without doors—for then it was a field conventicle—incurred the penalty of death. To carry its object into effect, it empowers, warrants, and commands all sheriffs, stewards of stewartries, lords of regalities, and their deputies, to call before them and try all such persons who shall be informed against as having kept or been present at conventicles within their jurisdictions, and to fine those who have been found guilty the sums expressed in the act. To encourage their diligence, they have gifted to them the fines of any persons within their jurisdictions under the degree of heritors; and they are warned that negligence will expose them to punishment. It

* The curates, and they alone, according to the vocabulary of the Privy Council, were "the orthodox and regular clergy."

is also promised that whoever shall seize and secure the person of any who shall either preach or pray at these field meetings or convocate any persons thereto, shall, for every such person so seized and secured, receive a reward of four hundred merks ; and the said seizers and their assistants are indemnified for any slaughter that shall be committed in apprehending and securing them.* But severe and bloody as this act was, conventicles still continued to be held, both in private houses and in the fields.

The capital punishment denounced in the act was not for some time inflicted. Every endeavour was, however, made to apprehend offenders, and multitudes were cast into prison, to be disposed of as the government saw cause. The country was already well supplied with prisons. But, the more effectually to carry their plans into effect, the government was from time to time repairing the old ones to render them more secure, and erecting new ones, among which the most distinguished was that soon after built on the Bass, an insular rock or island in the mouth of the Forth, lying within two miles of the coast of East Lothian and about three miles from North Berwick. It occurred to Lauderdale that this rock would be an admirable place for the confinement of nonconforming Presbyterians, and through his advice it was purchased for this purpose by the King, in October 1671, from Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall, Provost of Edinburgh, at the extravagant price of £4000 sterling.† Unlike other prisons, which chiefly enclose within their walls the thief, the robber,

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 169, 170.

† He obtained this sum through the influence of Lauderdale, who had found him a very useful instrument for advancing his purposes. Crichton's Memoirs of Blackadder, p. 260.

the murderer, and other desperados, the prison of the Bass had for its inmates, during the reign of Prelatic domination, almost exclusively men of piety and prayer, men whom a wise government, instead of condemning and punishing, would have protected and honoured.

Such is a glance at the state of matters when, in 1672, we first meet with the name of Robert Gillespie, who had the honour of being the first who was imprisoned in the Bass for Presbyterian principles. Nonconformity was strong, and numerous conventicles were held, both in private houses and in the fields. The Privy Council, whose ruling passion was the extinction of such meetings, had put into operation the whole machinery of government for the purpose of effecting this consummation, the object of their dearest wishes, determined to succeed though they should involve the country in all the horrors of a civil war. Their zeal in this unnatural and unpatriotic cause could hardly have been surpassed. This is evident from a glance at the Register of their Acts, from the ejection of the Presbyterian ministers to the Revolution, which is little else than the record of a systematic attempt to put down conventicles ; being chiefly filled with penal enactments against them, and decreets or letters raised at the instance of His Majesty's Advocate, against such as had preached or been present at them. But there is another fact which a slight examination of these documents brings out with equal prominence—the complete failure of the attempt. After prosecuting for years the inglorious task, they complain as loudly as at the commencement of the multitudes who frequented conventicles, and who, to use their own language, “deserted the public worship in

their own churches to the great hazard of all religion.” *To the great hazard of all religion !* As if these men cared about religion ! Who ever believed that they did ? For rulers who violated all laws, divine and human, who neither feared God nor regarded man, to embark in a crusade to overthrow the liberties of their country, and then to attempt to ward off the odium of their nefarious enterprise by professing that they were impelled by zeal for religion, is a piece of the purest effrontery on record. Had the people been less religious than they were, it would have been an easier matter to wreath the yoke of slavery around their necks. But having read and understood their bibles, and believing that what the government sought to crush was the truth of God, which they felt themselves bound to maintain at all hazards, they persevered in maintaining it amidst the terrors of persecution, till their adversaries were completely baffled, and that not so much by active resistance as by passive endurance. Thousands were thrown into prison, thousands were banished, thousands were put to death ; but, though the voice of their testimony was thus stifled, new witnesses arose, and their number even multiplied as the persecution advanced, giving every indication that the extermination of the inhabitants of our country could alone ensure success to the project of changing its religion. The moment that Knox planted Presbytery in Scotland it took a deep and an everlasting root. Royal power and favour were exerted to the utmost by James VI. and Charles I. to destroy it, but in vain. Not more successful were the fiercer efforts of Charles II. and James VII. At the close of a long twenty-eight years’ relentless persecution, that hardy plant, which

seemed only to grow stronger in its congenial soil by every attempt to crush it, rose with renovated vigour, and the great majority of our nation were found resting under its shadow.

ROBERT GILLESPIE.

ROBERT GILLESPIE is now little known, and his name, like that of many other good men in his day, might never have descended to posterity, had it not been for the persecution to which a steadfast adherence to his conscientious convictions subjected him. In 1672, when we first meet with him in the history of that period, he was preacher of the gospel; but how long he had held that office is uncertain. He was probably licensed, and at the same time ordained, by a number of outed ministers. This seems implied in an act of the Privy Council, which speaks of him as having never been "lawfully ordained," and as "preaching upon a pretended unlawful licence," language which they were in the habit of applying to young men who had not been licensed and ordained to preach by a bishop.

So many agents were then employed for discovering the keepers of conventicles, and for bringing them to justice, that it was impossible for a nonconforming preacher long to escape unnoticed, or to prosecute undisturbed his peaceful avocation. Gillespie was soon delated to the government, and letters, at the instance of Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton, his Majesty's Advocate, were raised against him and other ministers, for "having

several times preached, expounded scripture, and prayed at public conventicles in the fields ; or at the least, for having divers times preached, expounded scripture, and prayed at private conventicles ;”* and against a number of persons for having been present at conventicles, all of whom were summoned to appear personally and answer to the foresaid complaint before the Council, on the 11th of July 1672. Several appeared, of whom some confessed the truth of the libel, while others denied it ; upon which they were variously dealt with. Gillespie and a few more not appearing, the Council ordain letters to be directed against them, “ to denounce them rebels, and to put them to the horn for their contempt, and to escheat and inbring all their moveable goods and gear,” &c.

Undaunted by these proceedings, and convinced that it was his duty to obey God rather than men, Gillespie still persevered in preaching till about the end of May the following year, when he was apprehended and imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. On being examined by a Committee of the Privy Council, he admitted that on the preceding Sabbath he had preached in the town of Falkland ; but he honourably declined answering the other questions put to him, which, in all probability, referred to those in whose house the meeting was held—it being a house-conventicle—and such as were present, not choosing to be the means of involving them in trouble, into which they would unquestionably have been brought had they been discovered. He was accordingly condemned to be confined in the State Prison lately erected on the Bass, where, during the fourteen years which followed, some dozens of Scottish Presbyterians in their arduous and earnest

* The places are not specified.

struggle for great principles, were immured,—at once the victims of relentless tyranny and examples of Christian fortitude.* The act of Council containing his sentence, dated Edinburgh, 2d April 1673, is as follows :—

“The Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council having considered the confession of Mr Robert Gillespie, prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh: That upon Sunday last he did keep and preach in a conventicle in the town of Falkland ; and that albeit he was never lawfully ordained, he hath taken upon him to preach upon a pretended unlawful licence ; and that he hath refused to answer to such interrogators as were put to him by those of the Council appointed to examine him, whereby he has contravened the laws and acts of Parliament and Council : Do therefore ordain the said Mr Robert Gillespie to be carried to and kept prisoner in the Isle of the Bass, during the Council’s pleasure ; and until he shall be called for and transported to the said isle by those having order for that effect, the said Lords ordain the said Mr Robert to be continued in and kept close prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and that no person have access to him in the mean time.”

Gillespie in this act is charged with having preached without being “lawfully ordained,” and “upon a pretended unlawful licence ;” that is, as we have said before, without receiving licence or ordination from a bishop. He had thus not only violated the laws against conventicles, but also an act passed by the Parliament June 1672, entitled, an “Act against unlawful ordinations,” which forbids any person or persons, but such

The last of these prisoners was John Spreul, apothecary, Glasgow. The act for his liberation is dated 13th May 1687.

as are authorised by the laws of the kingdom, to ordain to the office and work of the ministry, and any persons to receive ordination from any others, under the penalty "that both the pretended ordainers and those who shall pretend to have received ordination, be seized upon by the sheriffs, or other ordinary magistrate of the place, and committed to prison, until they be delated to the Lords of the Privy Council, who are authorised and ordained, after trial, and finding the said persons guilty, to sentence them by confiscation of all their moveable goods, and banishing them, and to cause them find caution not to return to his Majesty's dominions. And in case they shall refuse to find caution, or, being banished, shall afterwards return to this kingdom, that they shall suffer perpetual imprisonment, and not be released, except by a warrant under his Majesty's own hand."*

It would appear that Gillespie, for some time after his imprisonment in the Bass, was kept *in carcere durissimo*—closely shut up and secluded from all intercourse with his friends. He probably was allowed the use of books ; but in such circumstances, when every thing tends to make the mind prey upon itself, how prone is the prisoner to be thinking only of his own misfortunes in perusing the most interesting and im-

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 198. What led to the passing of the above act was this : The Presbyterian ministers, some years after their ejection, finding several of their brethren banished, others removed by death, and their number otherwise decreased by the severity of the times, began to license and ordain such young men as they found qualified for the ministerial office, that thus the standard might be borne up when they were worn out by oppression and cruelty ; and that the demand for the preaching of the gospel, which was then great, might be supplied. The bishops, alarmed and galled at the prospect of the transmission of Presbytery to another generation, set themselves to devise means for putting a stop to these ordinations ; and this act was the result.

portant work. In this melancholy and monotonous condition, Gillespie was doomed to continue for two months; but after the lapse of that period, some mitigation of the rigour of his confinement was granted. On the 12th of June 1673, "the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council gave order and warrant to the Governor of the garrison of the Bass or his depute, to allow Mr Robert Gillespie, prisoner on that isle, by their order to have the liberty of the isle above the wall, and to permit such persons as shall desire to speak with Mr Robert to have access to him for that object, not exceeding the number of three persons in one day,—the governor, or some person to be appointed by him, being always present, and hearing what discourse shall pass betwixt the said Mr Robert and them, and that he do not suffer the said Mr Robert to preach or exercise the other functions of the ministry."

In the building of prisons in those days, little attention was paid to the comfort and health of those to be immured within their walls; and to this remark the apartments in the prison of the Bass were no exception. From their defective ventilation they were very unhealthy, being ordinarily full of smoke, which threatened to suffocate the prisoners, who were often under the necessity of thrusting their heads out at the windows to recover breath.* Besides, the rock, from its elevated and exposed situation, is cold and damp. Accordingly, as might be expected, the health of the prisoners often became deranged. Some of them, who were young and of a good constitution, retained their health; but the most of them who were confined for any length of time, even such whose constitutions had retained their vigour under labour and privations,

* Crichton's *Memoirs of Blackadder*, p. 267.

fell into disease, as appears from the numerous petitions which they presented to the Privy Council to obtain temporary liberty for regaining their health. Gillespie having fallen ill, we find him, in the beginning of the following year, presenting a petition to the Privy Council, "supplicating liberty for some time that he may use the ordinary means for recovery of his health, which is much impaired by long imprisonment."

The Council, in compliance with this request, on the 8th of January 1674, "grant order and warrant to the commander of the garrison in the Isle of the Bass to allow the petitioner liberty to repair to Edinburgh, in regard sufficient caution is found acted for him in the Books of Privy Council, that within forty-eight hours after his enlargement he shall come to Edinburgh and to the house of Margaret Murray his mother, residing there ; in which house he shall confine himself until the tenth day of March next, and that he shall keep no conventicles therein, and that against the said tenth day of March he shall return prisoner to the said Isle of the Bass, or any other prison his Majesty's Commissioner or the Council shall appoint, under the pain of one thousand merks Scots money."

Gillespie, it appears, did not again return to the Bass, but continued at liberty preaching the gospel, and eluding his persecutors, who eagerly sought after him, and set a price upon his head ; for this was one of the methods which, in that age of triumphant oppression, were brought into operation for the purpose of breaking the constancy of such as were true to their principles. On the 4th of June 1674, the Privy Council authorise and empower the Lord Chancellor to give orders to parties of that troop of horse of his Majesty's guards under his command, to apprehend various mi-

nisters named, among whom Gillespie is mentioned, offering such as shall apprehend any of the two who were most obnoxious* a reward of £400 sterling, and such as shall apprehend Gillespie or any of the rest one thousand merks, and indemnifying them of any slaughter that should happen to be committed in apprehending any of them ;†—an indemnification befitting the sanguinary spirit which dwelt in the bosoms of those chiefs of arbitrary power. About the end of July in the same year, he and sixteen other ministers, together with nearly a hundred laymen and some ladies of rank—for it is not to be forgotten that the ladies were at that time among the foremost in asserting the rights of conscience, and some of them no light sufferers on that account—were publicly denounced rebels and put to the horn at the market-cross of the principal towns, for not compearing personally before the Privy Council upon 16th of that month, to have answered for keeping house and field conventicles. But the government were not content with proceeding thus far. Another of the ingenuities of persecution in these unhappy times was the issuing of letters of inter-communing against the Presbyterians ; a kind of punishment, which, one would think, had been borrowed from Papal excommunication as it existed in the eighth century ; for like that horrid and infernal sentence, it cut off its victims from the privileges of society and the rights of hospitality, forbade the wife, under the severest penalties, to minister in the least to the wants of her husband, or the child to those of his parent, or man to those of

* These two were, Mr John Welsh and Mr Gabriel Semple.

† Register of Acts of the Privy Council. Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 234.

his fellow-man. On the 6th of August 1675, letters of inter-communing were issued against Gillespie and the individuals who along with him had been denounced rebels the preceding year ; prohibiting all “ to reset, supply, or inter-commune with any of the foresaid persons our rebels, for the causes foresaid, nor furnish them with meat, drink, house, harbour, victual, nor any other thing useful or comfortable to them, nor have intelligence with them by word, writ, or message, or any other manner of way, under pain to be reputed and esteemed art and part with them in the crimes foresaid, and pursued therefor with all rigour to the terror of others ;” and requiring all sheriffs and other officers of the crown, and magistrates, to apprehend any of the persons inter-communed, whom they shall find within their respective jurisdictions, and to commit them to prison.* These letters were issued by the instigation of the most malign and inveterate enemies of the Presbyterians—the bishops and their creatures, whose wrath was excited on perceiving that the preaching of the gospel was becoming more general, and the nonconformists increasing in number, in spite of all the violent measures adopted for their suppression. They imagined that those who were thus inter-communed, on finding themselves cut off from all shelter and assistance from friends or neighbours, would be under the necessity of removing from the country, and that thus they would be relieved of opposition from the most zealous of the nonconformists, while, at the same time, this act would inspire terror into others and reduce them to submission.† The fact that Gillespie was in-

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 286-288.

† Fraser's Life in Select Biographies, edited for Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 338. This severe law against men whose only fault was preaching

cluded among the number of the inter-communed, is a sure credential of his zeal and activity ; for the ministers named in the letters were such as had been most diligent in preaching the gospel.

Gillespie's future history we have not succeeded in tracing. The only instance in which we afterwards meet with him is in a letter, written to a lady by a person now unknown, about the year 1678, and afterwards sent to Mr Robert M'Ward, Rotterdam, containing the account which Gillespie had given the writer of a meeting of indulged and non-indulged ministers, held at Kirkcaldy, with the view of composing the differences existing among the Presbyterians in consequence of the indulgence, which in that year had reached a great height ; and also an account of some expressions he had uttered concerning Mr M'Ward and Mr John Brown, two banished ministers in Holland, who were hostile to the indulgence, and who had no small influence in increasing the aversion of the people in Scotland to it by their letters, in which they repre-

the gospel, or inviting and encouraging ministers to preach it, a punishment so terrible in itself that it had only been before inflicted upon murderers, traitors, and such as by acts of hostility disturbed the peace of the country, failed in effecting its purpose. "Although," says Fraser of Brea, who was one of those at that time inter-communed, "now the adversaries had boasted of an effectual mean for suppressing conventicles and establishing prelacy and uniformity, and that good people feared it; yet the Lord did wonderfully disappoint them, and made and turned their witty counsels into folly ; for this great noise harmed not at all, it was powder without ball." And after stating that he himself never suffered in the least from that severe measure, he adds, "As the Lord preserved myself in this storm, so I did not hear of any inter-communed or conversers of inter-communed persons that were in the least prejudiced thereby ; nay this matter of the inter-communing of so many good and peaceable men, did but exasperate the people against the bishops more, and procured to them, as the authors of such rigid courses, a greater and more universal hatred ; so that the whole land groaned to be delivered from them." *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 340.

sented it, and truly, as proceeding from the Erastian power of the monarch, and as imposing restrictions upon the ministers of the gospel, which the civil magistrate has no right to impose ; and which, therefore, Presbyterians could not accept consistently with their principles. The letter is as follows :—

“MISTRESS,—This is an account of what I heard Mr R[obert] G[illespie] first, as to the meeting of ministers that was at Kirkcaldie, telling that the ministers had been so unanimous, and the indulged were so glad of union that they sent commissioners from the west ; they chose those who were preaching in the fields for their commissioners, shewing their willingness to join with their brethren ; and the first thing they voted was for transporting of Mr John Wardlaw from Kemback to Dunfermline, and Mr G. [Gillespie?] to the congregation of Strathmiglo. Then they voted anent the bond, whereupon they thought the taking of that bond would make them scandalous to the people. Wherefore it was thought meet to send two of their number to some of the Council who were their friends ; which accordingly they did, and he said they got a very favourable answer. After this he began to tell me that there were two lads over by in Holland, meaning Mr M[‘Ward] and Mr B[rown], and he said they had written home a long letter, which I have seen said he, and there is a book against the indulgence which I have not seen ; but he said, And once they were settled they would write to them, and let them know they were the greatest number, and if they would not let their writing alone, he said he would both silence their tongue and pen ; and we feared only two that were in the Bass, meaning Mr H[og] and Mr F[raser] ; but, says he, we have them upon our fingers, and they are very peaceable, and not that which some folks boasted off and expected them to be.”*

* Wodrow’s MSS. vol. lix. folio, no. 76. There is written on the back, in Wodrow’s handwriting, “Account of some expressions of Mr Robert Gillespie’s, sent to Mr M‘Ward about 1678.

The precise date of Gillespie's death is uncertain, but he died before the termination of the persecution. He had a son, George, minister of the parish of Strathmiglo after the Revolution, and the friend of Ebenezer Erskine, the father of the Secession, who, though disapproving of his procedure in reference to the Marrow question, sincerely valued him for the general soundness of his sentiments, as well as for his active zeal in behalf of practical religion.*

George, in a letter to Robert Wodrow, the historian of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, dated Strathmiglo, October 13, 1718, speaking of his father, says, "You acquaint me that you have some scraps out of the register about my father, Mr Robert Gillespie's sufferings. Be pleased to transmit to me a copy thereof, and I will see if I can, by converse with friends, make it more complete. I was a child at that time, and now want some who might have been most useful in giving the full account. He was persecuted from the day he was licensed until the day of his death, and that merely for preaching the gospel, for he was neither at Pentland nor Bothwell Bridge. I shall also, with first conveniency, look through any papers he has left, and if I find any thing that may be serviceable to you it shall be at your command."† Gillespie, however, does not appear to have ever sent any additional facts to Wodrow concerning his father.

* Fraser's *Life of Ebenezer Erskine*, p. 211.

† Wodrow MSS. *Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiii. No. 78.

ALEXANDER PEDEN.

ALEXANDER PEDEN was born about the year 1626, in the parish of Sorn, in the shire of Ayr. On completing his course of education for the sacred ministry, he was employed for some time as schoolmaster, precentor, and session-clerk in the parish of Tarbolton, of which Mr John Guthrie was minister.* When in this situation he met with a trial of rather an uncommon kind. An unmarried woman being with child to a servant in the house where he lived, the fellow prevailed with her to accuse Peden of being its father, and fled himself to Ireland. It is said that the day on which Peden was to be licensed she came before the Presbytery, and brought against him the criminal charge. The pious youth on hearing it, horror-struck, and so agitated as to be almost unable to speak, of course maintained his innocence, and expressed, as he best could, his hope that God, in due time, would vindicate him. The cause was taken up by the Presbytery, and the process lasted for a year. Still persisting in his denial, the oath of the woman was taken, and the Presbytery proceeded so far as to excommunicate him. But on the very Sabbath on which Mr Guthrie was to read publicly the Presbytery's sentence, the father of the child, whom

* Wodrow asserts he was also precentor at Fenwick.

remorse of conscience had brought home to acknowledge his guilt, happened to be in the church of Tarbolton, and as Mr Guthrie was proceeding to read the sentence he stood up and vindicated Peden, making a free and full confession of his own guilt in presence of the congregation. The woman was afterwards married, and her marriage proving unfortunate, she laid violent hands on herself. This painful case, acting upon a mind of a melancholy temperament and extreme sensibility, appears to have contributed much to produce that austerity of manners which formed so prominent a feature in Peden's character.

Peden was settled at New Glenluce in Galloway, a short time before the restoration of Charles II. ; but he was not allowed to remain long in the peaceful discharge of his pastoral duties in that parish. A protracted period of severe trial awaited the Church of Scotland, and it was the will of Providence that he should drink largely of the bitter cup.

Peden was one of that body of nearly four hundred ministers who nobly refused compliance with the Act of Parliament May 1662, requiring all ministers who had been inducted since 1649 to receive presentations from their respective patrons, and collation from the bishop of the diocese in which they resided, before the 20th of September that year, under the penalty of deprivation. But he and many others, believing that the tie between them and their parishes was of too sacred a character to be broken asunder by the civil power, being in no haste to desert their charges, the Lords of the Privy Council, at Glasgow, October 1. 1662, passed an act, by which they "prohibit and discharge all ministers who have contravened the foresaid act of Parliament concerning the benefices and stipends, to exercise any part

of the functions of the ministry at their respective churches in time coming, which are hereby declared to be vacant..... and command and charge the said ministers to remove themselves and their families out of their parishes betwixt this and the first day of November next to come, and not to reside within the bounds of their respective parishes." Still many ministers, in the face of this act, continuing to exercise their pastoral duties in their parishes without receiving presentations from patrons and collations from bishops, the Council, in hope that some might be tempted to conform, extended the time for receiving presentations and collations to the first of February the following year. Peden and a considerable number of other ministers, particularly in the west, still declining to apply for presentations and collations or to leave their charges, forcible measures were adopted for their ejection. On the 24th of February 1663, the Lords of the Privy Council, probably at the instigation of the Bishop of Galloway, ordered letters to be directed against him and twenty-five additional ministers in Galloway, commanding them to remove themselves, wives, children, and goods from their respective manses, and from the bounds of the Presbytery where they now lived, before the 20th day of March following; forbidding them to exercise any part of their ministerial functions, and also charging them to appear before the Council on the 24th of March. Thus Peden was forced to leave the beloved charge of which he had been only for a few years the pastor.

The Sabbath on which he preached his farewell sermons was a day of great distress to his people of Glenceluce. In the forenoon he delivered a lecture upon Acts xx. 17 to the end; in which he protested that he

had declared the whole counsel of God, and that he was free from the blood of all men. In the afternoon, he preached on the 32d verse of the same chapter, "And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build up and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified." These sermons were solemn and impressive, and the tears shed by the congregation during their delivery attested their affection to the pastor who was now forcibly removed from them. He continued the services till night, warning, encouraging, and comforting them, and when about to descend from the pulpit, he closed the door of it, and knocking hard upon it three times with his bible, repeated as often these words, "I arrest thee in my Master's name that none ever enter thee but such as come in by the door as I did." It happened that neither curate nor indulged minister ever entered that pulpit during the persecution which followed, so that the church was completely deserted and desolate, and that the first time the pulpit was again entered was after the Revolution by a Presbyterian minister. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that his words were prophetic, or intended by him as such, although they have sometimes been understood in that sense.* It was doubtless only a significant mode of bearing

* Our authority here is Patrick Walker, who evidently understood Peden's words as prophetic; but, as recorded by him, they easily admit of being otherwise explained. In Wodrow's account they decidedly assume a prophetic form. "Mr Robert Gordon, minister at Kirkmichael, gave me a very full account of Mr Peden.....He tells me, likewise, that he fenced the pulpit of Glenluce in Galloway, and declared that none of the curates should ever set their foot in it; which accordingly came to pass." *Analecta*, vol. ii. p. 85. Walker, there is little doubt, gives the correct version; while Gordon paraphrases it, or explains the sense attached to it by Peden's credulous admirers after the Revolution.

testimony against the intrusion of a minister upon the people of whom he was the lawful pastor.*

But although ejected from his charge, and although non-conforming ministers were by act of Parliament prohibited from exercising the functions of their sacred calling, under the penalty of being punished as seditious persons, Peden, acting like many of his brethren, who judged that they could not warrantably lay down their commission as ambassadors of Christ at the bidding and menaces of men, and who, considering the insufficiency of the great majority of those introduced into their charges, could not resist the calls of the people by whom their services were so highly valued,—had the courage and fortitude to preach the gospel wherever he found opportunity. By thus acting in the face of law he well knew that he would involve himself in new troubles ; but having counted the cost, he chose rather to suffer than to neglect the claims of duty, and was prepared for that conflict with difficulties and dangers which, during the remaining years of his life, he bravely met without indicating, even in a single instance, a disposition to extricate himself by renouncing or receding from his principles. The Council, receiving information of the manner in which he was employed, direct letters against him and several non-conforming ministers, for *daring*, as they express it, to exercise the ministry contrary to law. The charge brought against him is, that he “ did keep a conventicle at Ralston, in the parish of Kilmarnock, about

* Peden afterwards occasionally visited his old parishioners, and “ they were taxed and quartered upon for receiving him into their houses, and for hearing him in the houses or the fields.” On “ Martinmas 1681, Claverhouse, commissioned Sheriff of Galloway, brought two troops of horse on the said parish for baptising of children with Mr Peden.” Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxvii. 4to, no. 34.

the 10th of October last, where he baptized the children of Adam Dickie, Robert Lymburner, and many others ; as also kept a conventicle in Cragie parish, at the Castle-hill, where he baptized the children of William Gilmor in Kilmarnock, and Gabriel Simson, both in the said parish, and that besides twenty-three children more ; both which conventicles were kept under cloud of night, with a great deal of confusion ; as also the said Mr Alexander rides up and down the country with sword and pistols, in gray clothes.”* And as Peden and the others named are said, from the fear of being apprehended, to “ have no certain constant residence or dwelling,” the authorities are by these letters commanded to charge them at the market-cross of of Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, Edinburgh, and pier and shore of Leith, to compear personally before the Lords of the Privy Council, to answer to the above complaint under the pain of rebellion.

Peden joined the Covenanters in the west who had taken up arms and were defeated at Pentland Hills ; but he only accompanied them as far as the Clyde, and on the night of the defeat was in a friend’s house in Carrick, sixty miles distant from Edinburgh.† The object of those engaged in this insurrection was not to overthrow the government of Charles II. ; but simply to obtain the redress of their grievances—to make the government desist from treating them with that severity and injustice which they had patiently borne for

* Wodrow’s History, vol. ii. pp. 4, 5.

† The battle of Pentland was fought on the 28th of November 1666. The Presbyterian forces were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace ; and the king’s troops by General Dalziel of Binns. But, though Wallace was an intrepid and skilful commander, from the small number of his men and their wretched equipment, as well as from the want of inferior officers to conduct them, he lost the battle.

several years. The grounds of their quarrel command our generous sympathy, while the gallantry with which they rallied around and fought under the banner of freedom entitle them to the highest praise. It may, however, be doubtful whether, in the unfavourable circumstances in which they were placed, it was prudent for them to brave the fury of the government ; and it is certain that this, like all other unsuccessful attempts to break the yoke of intolerable oppression, only inflamed still more the fury of the government against those who had taken up arms. A considerable number of them were publicly executed ;* and many more were forfeited and outlawed as rebels and traitors ; while Presbyterians throughout the country who had no hand in the insurrection, were subjected to the greatest hardships. Although Peden was not engaged in it, he was proceeded against as if he had been one of the insurgents.

In a proclamation, emitted 4th December 1666, by his Majesty, with the advice of the Privy Council, all his Majesty's subjects are discharged and inhibited to harbour, reset, supply, correspond with, or conceal Peden, and others who concurred or joined in the late *rebellion*, as they term the rising at Pentland. In August the following year, the King's Advocate produces a warrant signed by his Majesty's Commissioner, the Earl of Rothes, for pursuing criminally before the Justiciary Court, Peden, and a long list of others specified, and for forfeiting them in their lives and fortunes, for their concern in the same insurrection ; and upon an indictment given in against them by the Lord

* Twenty were executed at the cross of Edinburgh, ten at Irvine, four at Glasgow, two at Dumfries, in all thirty-six. Their heads and hands were set up on poles. Crichton's Memoirs of John Blackadder, p. 128.

Advocate, they are declared by the Court to "have committed and incurred the pains and crimes of treason, and are guilty of being authors, actors, accessory art and part thereof ; which being found by an assize, they ought to be punished in their persons and goods, to the terror and example of others." And when a proclamation, dated Whitehall, 1st October 1667, was issued by the King, granting a general pardon and indemnity to those who were in the late rebellion, Peden, among others, is expressly excepted.*

In 1670, Peden appears to have first visited Ulster, in Ireland, whither he afterwards frequently resorted, and preached to great multitudes assembled in public places ; a practice at which the ministers in Ulster were offended, judging it to be an indiscreet braving of the law, for which there was not the same necessity as in Scotland, there being full liberty, in that country, without any bond or other sinful compliances with government, to preach in the meeting-houses.†

Returning again to Scotland, he was apprehended in June 1672, by Major Cockburn,‡ in the house of Hugh Ferguson of Knockdow in Carrick. Both were carried prisoners to Edinburgh. The Privy Council, after ordering Peden to be examined by a Committee of their number, condemned him to be carried by a party of the military to the prison of the Bass by the following act, dated 26th June 1673 :—

"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council do re-

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 66, 67–69, 92.

† Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, vol. ii. p. 396.

‡ Cockburn received, by order of the Council, L.50 sterling, to be paid out of the fines, for his great pains in apprehending Peden and Ferguson, and he was ordained to divide L.25 sterling, in such proportions as he judged best, among the party of soldiers under his command who apprehended them.

commend to the Lords Register and Advocate, or any one of them, to call for and examine Mr Alexander Peden, prisoner in the Tolbooth, for being in the rebellion in the year 1666, and who was lately apprehended keeping a conventicle; and thereafter ordain him to be transported by five or six of the guard from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh to the Isle of Bass, and to be delivered to the governor of the garrison there, who is hereby ordered to keep him close prisoner until farther order."

Hugh Ferguson, then also imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, was in like manner examined by the Lords Register and Advocate, and upon their report, the Council, July 10, finding, "by his own confession, that he is guilty of resetting Mr Alexander Peden, an outed minister, who stands forfeited for being in the rebellion in the year 1666, and that he has confessed himself to be guilty of keeping of conventicles within his own house: Do therefore fine him in one thousand merks Scots, to be paid to his Majesty's cash-keeper, for his Majesty's use, upon payment whereof the said Lords ordain him to be set at liberty."

Peden, there is every reason to believe, was confined in the Bass upwards of four years. When he first entered, his only fellow-prisoner was Mr Robert Gillespie; but afterwards fresh prisoners were added, consisting of a number of eminent ministers of the same principles and character with himself, as Mr Thomas Ross, Mr James Fraser of Brea, Mr John M'Gilligen, and others. It would have been a comfort to him and them, and would have lessened the weight of their afflictions, had they been permitted to enjoy each other's society. Sometimes they had permission granted them to assemble together for devotional exercises in the morning

and evening ; and to men of kindred spirits, and who were suffering in the same cause, it would be exceedingly refreshing to join together in reading the Scriptures, and in pouring out their united prayers at the throne of grace. But at other times they were wholly deprived of all mutual intercourse, and closely shut up in their separate cells. The Privy Council, on the 26th of July 1677, made an act, partially removing such rigorous confinement, but still leaving them under restrictions sufficiently severe :—

“ The Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council do hereby give order and warrant to the keeper of the Isle of the Bass, to permit and allow the prisoners in the said isle to have the liberty of the isle in the day-time, betwixt sun-rising and sun-setting, provided that he permit none but two of them at once to have that liberty ; and that he shut up these two before he allow the other two to come out : But declares that this order shall not extend to Mr James Mitchell, who is to be continued close prisoner, conform to the former order.”

It was no doubt some small mitigation for two of them to be allowed to walk together for a few hours upon the island. The fresh air would invigorate their health and revive their spirits, while their mutual converse and sympathy would strengthen one another’s faith, fortitude, and patience. But during all the other part of the twenty-four hours, each was shut up in entire seclusion in his own cell. To the sufferer thus pent up for years in an unwholesome dungeon, by which the energy of the nervous system is weakened, and the elasticity of the spirits broken, more fortitude is often required than to brave on the field of action, and in the moment of excitement the terrors of death. The heroism which has nobly ac-

quitted itself in the latter case, has been subdued by the sufferings of the former. Yet Peden, though feeling acutely the rigour and hardships of his imprisonment, sustained them with a resigned and submissive mind. His feelings he expresses in a letter which he wrote to Mr Patrick Simpson, then indulged minister at Kilmalcom,* thanking him for a supply of money which he had sent to him and his fellow-prisoners. This letter is written in excellent spirit, breathing much patience, humility, dignity, and delicacy of mind. As it has never before been printed, we here present it to the reader :—

“ *Bass, 11th August 1677.*

“REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—Saluting you heartily in the Lord, whose you are and whom you serve; love, yea, conscience to duty makes me run the hazard thus to bless you, with the brethren there, for your sympathy and continued earnest care, especially towards me, unworthy of bonds, and most unworthy to be remembered in bonds. My trial enjoins deep silence abroad, but loud pitiful language upwards; but it were not a cross if not crossing, nor a prison if not straitening; every thing herein and more is needful (and blessed be He in whom all stock is, and is master-carver). Weel were such, and no delay either, its blessed effects, in his due time, though much suspended for present. I beg you will not mistake our silence. His woes multiply, so our bonds grow. Where our mercies and sweet refreshment might be there it's denied and inhibited. He is righteous; neither are we in the dark to mind our manifold sins in our judgments. We are close shut up by our chambers, not permitted to converse, diet, worship

* Mr Patrick Simson, who was ordained minister of Renfrew, Nov. 11. 1653, was ousted by the act of the Council at Glasgow 1662, but afterwards became indulged minister at Kilmalcom. At the Revolution he was settled at Renfrew, and died October 24. 1715, after he had been nearly sixty-two years in the work of the ministry.

together, but conducted out by two at once in the day, to breathe in the open air—envying (with reverence) the birds their freedom, and provoking and calling on us to bless him for the most common mercies—and again close shut up day and night, to hear only the sighs and groans of our fellow-prisoners; and, oh! if we were such as none of these things move us: yea, while all things speak a feeding lying storm. He only knows wherefore we are reserved, and what is appointed for us, with you, who out of the eater brings forth meat. Our long fast will resolve in sad earnest, and when darkest it will be light, and most care least care. O for grace to credit him (hitherto never cumbersome), and his cross in whatever piece of service, in bonds or freedom, he cuts out! I return to thank you for your seasonable supply, an evidence of your love to Him, and your affectionate remembrance of us. I used that freedom with our dear sister Mrs Durham, to shew you there, that ingenuously, without breach of charity, there were at freedom more in necessity than some in bonds; and to suspend towards me, who designs no great things for myself (his cross and bonds excepted), for food and raiment, promising to burden you with the first. For your information, if not satisfaction, it was enjoined me to distribute your bounty, which I altogether declined, for reasons unworthy to be signified, to our mutual griefs for the present, as your receipt imports. Persuade yourself you are in our remembrance, though not so deep as we in yours, yet making mention of you to your and our Master, begging you may be directed, supported, and carried through cleanly in this our hour of temptation; acquitting yourselves as watchmen indeed from your watch-tower, fulfilling your ministry which you have received from the Lord. Now, peace be to the brethren, and love with faith from God the Father; and grace be to all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity! So prayeth your unworthy and affectionate well-wisher in bonds,

“ALEXANDER PEDEN.

“This in great haste and no less confusion.”*

* Wodrow MSS. vol. ix. 8vo. The letter is a copy in the handwriting of

One thing which strikes us in the life of Peden, is the authority with which he spake. The bold and awakening tenor of his address, both to private individuals and before a public auditory, remind us of Elijah or John the Baptist, speaking in tones of astonishment and alarm in the ears of their impenitent countrymen. When he was prisoner in the Bass, one Sabbath morning, being engaged in the public worship of God, a young woman came to the chamber-door, "mocking with loud laughter." He said, "Poor thing, thou mockest and laughest at the worship of God ; but, ere long, God will work such a sudden surprising judgment on thee, that shall stay thy laughing, and thou shalt not escape it." Very shortly thereafter, as she was walking upon the rock, there came a blast of wind that swept her into the sea, and she was lost.*

Another day, while he was walking upon the rock, some soldiers passing by him, one of them cried, "The devil take him !" He said, "Fy, fy, poor man, thou knowest not what thou art saying ; but thou wilt repent that." At which words the soldier stood astonished, and went to the guard distracted, crying aloud for Mr Peden, saying the devil would immediately take him. Peden came and spake to him, and prayed with him. The next morning, again visiting him, he found him in his right mind, under deep convictions of great guilt. The guard being to change, they desired him to go to his arms ; he refused, and said, "I will lift no arms against Jesus Christ's cause, nor persecute his

Wodrow, who observes, "This letter was writt upon the person to whom it's directed his sending some money to the prisoners in the Bass. It's so ill writt that probably I may have mistaken some words in it ; but as near as I could gather it, it's here because of the singular way this man had of expressing himself."

* Walker's Life of Peden. Biograph. Presb.

people; I have done that too long." The governor threatened him with death the next day at ten o'clock: he confidently said three times, "Though you should tear all my body to pieces, I will never lift arms that way." About three days after, he was put out of the garrison by the governor, who sent him ashore. Having a wife and children, he took a house in East-Lothian, where he became an eminent Christian.*

On the 9th of October 1677, the Council, agreeably to the opinion expressed by their Committee for Public Affairs, conclude, "that Mr Alexander Peden, prisoner in the Bass, be liberated, he enacting himself in the books of Council, to take banishment out of Scotland, England, and Ireland, upon him, with certification if he shall return, he shall be holden *pro confesso* as having been in the rebellion in the year 1666, and proceeded against and punished accordingly."

Notwithstanding this act, he was still kept a prisoner. It is, however, probable, that at this time he was brought from the Bass and put into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where he appears to have remained upwards of a year; as may be inferred from a petition presented by him to the Privy Council on the 14th of November 1678, praying to be liberated from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in which he says he had lain for a long time, and to be permitted to go to Ireland, where he had formerly resided for several years. But the Council, though no libel had ever been given in against him, and though he was not charged either with house or field conventicles in Scotland now for twelve years, refused to grant his petition, and banished him to the plantations in America, discharging him

* We adopt these anecdotes, without comment, on the authority of Patrick Walker, in his *Life of Peden*, Biograph. Presb.

ever to return under the penalty of death. In December, he and sixty more prisoners, on whom the same sentence of banishment was passed, embarked in the Roads of Leith for Gravesend, London. On their arriving at Gravesend, which, in consequence of the tediousness of the voyage, was five days later than had been anticipated, the master of another vessel who was to carry them to Virginia not being there, the ship-captain who had brought them from Leith, and who was engaged to carry them only to Gravesend, finding no person to take them off his hand, and grudging the expense of maintaining them any longer, sent them ashore to shift for themselves as they best could. They were treated with much kindness by the English, when they learned the cause of their sufferings; and the greater part reached their homes in safety after an absence of about nine months.*

On the day on which the Covenanters were discomfited at Bothwell Bridge, the 22d of June 1679, Peden was near the border, forty miles distant from the scene of action. Oppressed with apprehensions for the safety of his countrymen in arms, he kept himself retired until the middle of the day, and when some of his friends then informed him that the people were waiting for sermon, he replied, "Let the people go to their prayers, for me I neither can nor will preach any this day; for our friends are fallen and fled before the enemy at Hamilton, and they are haggling and hashing them down, and their blood is running like water."† He is said to have spoken in a similar strain at the

* Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxvii. 4to, no. 141. Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 476, 483. Walker's account differs from the above in some slight particulars. Wodrow had his information from one of the prisoners.

† Biograph. Presb. vol. i. p. 46.

time of the defeat of the insurgents at Pentland Hills ; and what he said on both these occasions, has been adduced in proof of those extraordinary premonitions of future events with which he was believed to be favoured in no ordinary degree. But allowing that his words are correctly reported, there is no necessity for regarding them in this light. He knew in both cases that the Covenanters were in arms, and that they would soon be encountered by the King's forces ; and his melancholy temperament inducing gloomy forebodings, what amounted to nothing more than the expression of his fears, would seem, after the news of the disaster in both instances had been received, to partake of the prophetic.

Shortly after this engagement he went to Ireland, where, however, he staid only for a short time. Returning to Scotland, he, in the year 1682, united in marriage the well-known martyr John Brown of Priesthill to Isabel Weir, his second wife. At the close of the ceremony, he is said to have addressed the bride in these terms : " Isabel, you have got a good man to be your husband, but you will not enjoy him long ; prize his company, and keep linen by you to be his winding-sheet, for you will need it when you are not looking for it, and it will be a bloody one."* Peden's words, we have little doubt, simply implied that, in the circumstances of the times, and considering Brown's zealous adherence to Presbyterian principles, his falling a martyr in the cause then so relentlessly persecuted, was by no means improbable ; and when Brown, in the beginning of May 1685, was shot by Claverhouse, we can easily suppose that these solemn words,

* Biograph. Presb. vol. i. p. 53.

by a very slight change of phraseology,—by a simple change of *may* into *will*, a mistake which those who believed in his prophetic gift, from imperfect recollection, might very readily fall into, without any intention to misstate them, would be converted into the form of a prediction.

Subsequent to this, in the same year, he again went over to Ireland, and being in great outward straits, on coming to the house of William Steel in Glenwhary, in the county of Antrim, he engaged himself to Mrs Steel as a servant for thrashing victual. But in this employment he continued only two days. The servant lad observing that he spent the whole night in prayer, and portions of the day in the same way, informed his mistress, who, suspecting him to be a minister, desired her husband to inquire at him if such was the case ; which he did, assuring Peden that he put the question from no hostile purpose. Peden frankly admitted the correctness of their suspicions, avowing that he was not ashamed of his office, and giving an account of his circumstances ; upon which he was treated no longer as a servant but with all the hospitality and respect due to a minister of the gospel. Here he staid for a considerable time ; and his labours were blessed in the conversion of some and civilization of others among that people, who were noted for the rudeness of their manners.

About the end of February 1685, he left Ireland for Scotland, along with twenty-six Scottish sufferers, who also intended to return to their own country. Not venturing to go to any public port, they embarked in a small vessel near Carrickfergus, and sailed off immediately, lest they should fall into the hands of the gar-

rison in that town. These twenty-six Scotsmen were provided with arms, it being then in the heat of what was called *the killing time* in Scotland. In those days "the word of the Lord was precious," and on the morning after they landed, Peden lectured on a hill-side to his fellow-countrymen, who listened to him with devout attention.

At the period of their arrival, garrisons of soldiers, both horse and foot, were stationed in different parts of Galloway, and perambulated the country, oppressing and murdering the Presbyterians. Receiving early intelligence of the newly arrived fanatics, as the Presbyterians were then called, they proceeded to ferret them out, with all the eagerness of blood-hounds. One morning Peden and his friends got the alarm that a party of foot and horse were approaching, upon which they immediately betook themselves to flight and were hotly pursued; but the horse of the enemy were obstructed by the marshy nature of the ground, a frequent cause of annoyance to the military, and means of safety to the Covenanters. After having run a considerable way, an eminence interposing between them and the enemy, Peden, in the emergency, proposed that they should engage in prayer, and this being at once cordially agreed to, he fervently and solemnly besought God, among other things, to send their pursuers after those to whom he had given strength to flee, as their strength was gone, and to "cast the lap of his cloak" over him and his companions. Meanwhile a dark cloud of mist intervened, and soon after an express came to the party to go in pursuit of Mr Renwick and a multitude who were assembled with him in the fields. No sooner were they gone than Peden and his friends united in

solemn thanksgiving to God for hearing and answering them in the day of their distress.*

Not long after his return from Ireland, he had the pleasure of an interview at Carrentable with his beloved friend Mr James Renwick, the only minister of the Society People† for some time after the death of Cameron and Cargill. On Renwick's pressing him to join with and assist him in supporting the public standard for the truth, he answered, "Go, sir, and be busy about the work God has put you to, for, think on it, neither you nor I will ever see the other side of it,"—meaning the deliverance of the Church from the cruel persecution which then afflicted her. But the friendships of good men, like those of others, are liable to interruptions in this changing world. Peden, after this, became cold in his affections towards that pious and heroic youth. Renwick, on his return from the Continent to Scotland, finding field-preaching totally suppressed, urged by a strong sense of duty, braving the fury of persecution, commenced preaching in the fields, by which he became an object of jealousy to the Pres-

* Biograph. Presb., vol. i. pp. 66, 67.

† The Society People were those of the Covenanters who, with Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill, separated from the rest of the Presbyterians, and formed themselves into a distinct body. The principal differences between them and their brethren, consisted in their views about the Indulgence, and the lawfulness of the then existing civil government. They refused to hold fellowship not only with the indulged ministers, but even with those who, although they did not accept of the Indulgence, yet continued in religious fellowship with such as had accepted it. They also disowned the government of Charles, and openly proclaimed war against him as a tyrant and usurper. They arose after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and prevailed chiefly in the West and South. The name of "the Society People" was applied to them from their forming themselves into societies in the various parts of the country where they lived, and holding from time to time general meetings in different places, consisting of delegates from each particular Society. To them the Cameronians or Reformed Presbyterian Synod, trace their ecclesiastical descent.

byterian ministers in general, who were too much disposed to misrepresent his motives, principles, and character. The power of contumely is great. It not unfrequently, in some degree, alienates from the good man who is exposed to it on all sides, his warmest friends, on whose attachment he is disposed to rely. Peden, too credulous of the misrepresentations and evil reports circulated to the prejudice of Renwick, set himself in opposition to him, and spake against him in terms of severity, which he afterwards had reason to regret, and which much grieved and stumbled many who were well affected towards Renwick, as well as confirmed his adversaries, who loudly boasted that Mr Peden also was become his enemy.*

Peden deeply sympathised with the Society People, and was accustomed to speak of them with affection and respect, but he never joined them, not judging it to be his duty, though opposed to the Indulgence,† to separate from those who accepted it, and form a distinct and conflicting association. This appears from the records of the Society People. Some of them were actually censured for employing him to unite them in marriage, and for receiving from him, in behalf of their children, the ordinance of baptism. At the general meeting, held at Tala Lin, in the parish of Tweedsmuir and sheriffdom of Tweeddale, upon the 15th of June 1682, one of their number was "debarred after some debate" from sitting at the meeting "because of his marrying with Mr Alexander Peden, and for his joining with some that gave meat and drink to dragoons. But," it is added, "that which occasioned the

* Shield's *Life of Renwick* in *Biograph. Presb.*, vol. ii. pp. 115, 116.

† Walker tells us that Peden was wont to call the indulged ministers "The King's royal dawties."

hottest debate and greatest confusion was about Alexander Gordon, who had joined with Mr Peden in accepting the administration of the sacrament of baptism to his child from him, whereupon the contest arose, one part of the meeting saying Mr Peden might be joined with, and the other not. So, seeing the matter was under debate, and could not be there and then decided, it was thought most expedient to suspend Alexander Gordon from the meeting, until inquiry and trial were made how it was with Mr Peden at the time, and how it was when he joined with him, that thereby it might be better known how to proceed therein. And for this effect James Russel promised to send one or come himself out of Fife, and to come by Edinburgh, that one might be chosen out of Lothian to go along with him to Monkland, where they were to get a third person to go with them to Mr Peden, which thing James Russel failed to do, and so the inquiry and trial was not made.”* At the next general meeting of the United Societies, held at Edinburgh upon the 11th of August 1682, the case of Gordon was again taken up, and the “meeting, upon the account that the inquiry about Mr Peden was not made, inquired at him if he was willing to acknowledge his fault before them, providing Mr Peden be not found after trial to have been faithful when he joined with him, which thing he most willingly and cheerfully did; and so, upon this condition, he was received in as a member of the meeting.” It is thus evident that Peden had not then united himself to the Society people, nor is there any evidence from their records of his having afterwards acceded to them.†

* Principal Acts and Conclusions of the Society People, Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxviii. 4to. p. 24.

† Ibid. p. 29. Dr Reid, in speaking of Mr David Houston, a Presby-

On the 16th of April 1685, Peden made a narrow escape. Being then at the house of John Nisbet of Hardhill, a little before nine o'clock in the morning, a troop of dragoons was observed by the servants who were working in the fields coming up to the house at full gallop; upon which the servants ran to conceal themselves. Peden and those who were with him in the house had fled for shelter to a moss nearly two miles distant from the place where the servants were working. The way to this moss was by very steep ground, and at the edge of the moss there was a morass about seven or eight yards broad, and altogether the place was well adapted for concealment as well

terian licentiate, who for a time supplied the congregation of Glenarm, and afterwards of Ballymoney, both in Ireland, and who was the founder of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in that country, says, "While officiating in this latter congregation, he appears to have first become acquainted with Mr Alexander Peden, and to have imbibed from this pious and faithful, though enthusiastic minister, that impatience of ecclesiastical restraint, and that love of ministering to popular excitement by collecting large crowds of people at unusual times and places in opposition to their settled ministers, which soon exposed him to the serious animadversions of his brethren."—*History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 411. Peden, from his great popularity in Ireland, no doubt preached in the fields, and in doing so may not have confined himself to canonical hours; but it may be fairly questioned whether he was characterized by that "impatience of ecclesiastical restraint, that love of ministering to popular excitement," and that spirit of division which Houston is here said to have "imbibed" from him. The disciple, we think, went beyond his master. Wodrow gives a very different account of Peden, which he corroborates by reference to authorities of weight, some of which have been laid before the reader. "I have seen," says he, "several of his original letters when in the Bass, to some indulged ministers and others, which breathe a quite other spirit than those papers [his prophecies] handed about make him to be of. And I cannot but remark, both from the company he haunted after he got out of his confinement, and some passages in the original records of the Societies, that this excellent person was far from the heights at this time run to, which meanwhile appear some way to be designed to be justified by the papers handed about under his name."—*Wodrow's History*, vol. iv. p. 397.

as for protection from military on horseback. Here, however, Peden and his companions were discovered. James, son of John Nisbet, a young man about sixteen years of age, had been with the servants in the field when the troop of dragoons came up, and in his flight, being chased by some of the party, made his way accidentally to the spot where Peden and about twenty more were lurking, which occasioned their being discovered. The whole party of dragoons were quickly informed of the prize within their reach, and about three hours after they were joined by another party who aided them in the pursuit. Peden and his friends observing the enemy dismounting their horses to take the moss on their feet for the purpose of securing them, after some firing on both sides without effect, drew off and kept in the midst of the moss. When the dragoons, on seeing this, mounted their horses again and pursued them by the side of the moss, the Covenanters always kept themselves on such ground as the horses could not approach. They were pursued during the whole of that day, and ran about thirty miles without receiving any refreshment but moss water till night, when they got a little milk. Peden then left his friends, and went away by himself.*

During this year, and especially during the first

* Sergeant James Nisbet's Diary in M'Crie's *Memoirs of Veitch*, &c. pp. 520, 521. Walker has also given an account of this incident in his *Life of Peden*: "The next morning James [Nisbet] was going at the horses; about eight o'clock there was a troop of the enemies surrounded the house. When James saw them he ran for't. They pursued him hard, and he ran to a moss where they could pursue him no further with horses. They fired upon him, and he having knots upon his hair on each side of his head, one of their bullets took away one of the knots. He ran where Peden was, who said, 'O Jamie, Jamie, I am glad your head is safe, for I knew it would be in danger.' He took his knife and took away the other knot."—*Biograph. Presb.* vol. i. p. 71.

PEDEN AT CAMERON'S GRAVE



part of it, great numbers of the persecuted witnesses were murdered in the fields. Peden therefore, to escape the hands of the military, after this, wandered from one lurking place to another, and from his minute acquaintance with all the tracts and haunts of the desert of which he may be said for years to have been an inhabitant, he succeeded in eluding the enemy. In such circumstances, we need not wonder that he was sometimes weary of life, and envied his fellow-sufferers who had gone before him to receive their reward. On one occasion, visiting the grave of Richard Cameron,* these feelings rushed powerfully into his mind. Harassed and vexed, he sat down by the grave, and as he thought of the happiness of his beloved friend, who had exchanged all his sufferings for the martyr's crown, while he himself was still enduring the scorching heat of persecution, meekly raising his eyes to heaven, he prayed, "O to be wi' Ritchie!"†

John Campbell of Welwood, in an account of his own sufferings, during the persecution, states the following facts respecting Peden, with whom he spent the greater part of this summer :—"In a little time thereafter, [after the beginning of April 1685], I got notice of Mr Alexander Peden, minister, and went to him,

* Cameron, with eight of his followers, were killed at Aird-moss, after fighting bravely a party of dragoons under Bruce of Earlshall, who attacked them. Cameron's head and hands were cut off and taken to Edinburgh; but his body, and his brave comrades who fell, were buried on the spot.

† This anecdote seems to be traditional. Walker records a visit which Peden and James Douglas made about this time to Cameron's grave, and the conversation which took place between them there. But it is likely enough that the visit mentioned in the text was made on a different occasion. In the one case, Peden was alone; in the other, he was accompanied with a friend. Biograph. Presb. vol. i. p. 71.

with whom I stayed several days, having a little den underneath the earth, who had a great pressure of spirit upon him, and groaned most of the night over in heaviest manner ; none knowing where we were at first save one who brought us some sustenance. But when our abode in that retired desert came to be discovered we departed, and hearing that the Earl of Argyll was at sea and had touched at the Orkneys, I then joined with and stirred up all who had a good inclination to the old cause to put themselves in condition to join that party upon that expedition, the particulars whereof are not to be insert here, and meeting with the excellent Lieutenant-Colonel William Clelland, he and I passed much of the summer with the reverend and renowned Mr Robert Langlands, Mr Alexander Peden, Mr Barclay, and Colonel John Fullerton.”*

At length Peden’s bodily infirmities increasing so much as to render him unable to travel, he came to his brother’s house in the parish of Sorn, the place of his birth, where he caused in the neighbourhood of his brother’s house a cave to be dug, with a willow bush covering its mouth. His persecutors getting information where he was, searched every part of the house on many occasions. At last, one day early in the morning, leaving the cave he came to the door of his brother’s house. His brother’s wife warned him of his danger, and advised him to return to his place of concealment. He told her it was needless to do that, since it was discovered ; “ but,” says he, “ there is no matter, for within forty-eight hours, I will be beyond the reach of all the devil’s temptations, and his instruments in hell and on earth, and they shall trouble me no more.” He had

* Wodrow MSS. xxxiii. folio, no. 56 ; and his History, vol. iv. p. 51.

not been in the house above three hours, when a party of soldiers visited the cave, and not finding him there, they searched first the barn and next the house, stabbing the beds, but they did not enter the place where he lay.

The prospect of death and eternity often softens the prejudices which the good man, from various causes, may have imbibed against his Christian brethren, with whom he once lived on terms of intimate friendship, and opening, as it were, the sluices of Christian love, makes him more tender, forbearing, and charitable towards them. It was so with Peden. On his death-bed he sent for Mr Renwick, from whom he had become alienated, as we have seen before, by lending too credulous an ear to misrepresentation and reproach. Renwick came to him with all haste, and found him lying in very low circumstances, having few to minister to his comfort, but peaceful and happy in mind. Peden raised himself upon his bed, leaning on his elbow with his head upon his hand to speak to his interesting visitant, and a comfortable interview took place between them. "Sit down, sir," said the dying man, "and give me an account of your conversion, and of your call to the ministry, of your principles, and the grounds of your taking such singular courses in withdrawing from all other ministers." Renwick did so; which, when Peden heard, he said, "You have answered me to my soul's satisfaction, and I am very sorry that I should have believed such evil reports concerning you, which not only quenched my love to you, and marred my sympathy with you, but led me to express myself bitterly against you." He desired Renwick to pray before leaving him, which he did with more than ordinary freedom; and, after prayer,

drawing to him the pious and noble youth, he kissed him, saying, "Sir, I have found you a faithful servant to your Master ; go on in a single dependence upon the Lord, and you will get honestly through, and cleanly off the stage."*

Peden died on the 28th of January 1686, being upwards of sixty years of age, and was privately buried in the church of Auchinleck, in the aisle of David Boswell, Esq., of Auchinleck. But his ashes were not allowed to repose in peace. Though he had never been condemned by any jury, yet the enemy, being informed of his death and burial, sent a troop of dragoons, who pulled his corpse out of the grave after it had lain about six weeks, and having first broken the chest, exposed his remains to contempt, and then carried them to the gallows's foot at Cumnock, two miles distant, and there buried them.† The design of the soldiers in lifting the body, was to hang it in chains upon the gallows at Cumnock. But this they were prevented from doing. The Countess of Dumfries and the Lady Affleck, shocked at this barbarity, earnestly interceded that the body might be again buried ; and when the savage commander of the dragoons, determined to have it hung up in chains, proved unrelenting, they applied to the Earl of Dumfries, a Privy Councillor, then at home, who, yielding to their re-

* Our authority for this anecdote is Patrick Walker. *Biograph. Presb.* vol. i. pp. 91-93. Howie says that its truth has been doubted. This may have arisen from its not being recorded in Shield's *Life of Renwick* ; but it may notwithstanding be founded in truth. It is highly honourable to both these good men.

† Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxviii. 4to, no. 103. Wodrow says in his *History*, " This raising him after he was buried, Mr Peden before his death did very positively foretel before several witnesses, some of whom are yet alive who were present, from whom I have it, else I should not have noticed it here." Vol. iv. p. 396.

quest, went to the gibbet and told Murray that it was erected for malefactors and murderers, and not for such men as Mr Peden. The corpse was accordingly re-interred at the foot of the gibbet, now within the wall of common burial-ground of Cumnock parish, and a gravestone was afterwards laid above it, with this inscription:—

HERE LIES ALEXANDER PEDEN, A FAITHFUL MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, SOMETIME AT GLENLUCE, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE JANUARY 28. 1686, AND WAS RAISED AFTER SIX WEEKS OUT OF HIS GRAVE, AND BURIED HERE OUT OF CONTEMPT.

We shall conclude this sketch with a few remarks on the leading features of Peden's character, and on the singular prophecies which he is said to have uttered. That he was distinguished for sincere and fervent piety, is unquestionable. Nor was he less eminent for self-denial, patience, and fortitude under suffering. Such was his stedfast and unwavering adherence to what he believed to be the truth, that it is surprising to find that, in the evil times in which he lived, he did not end his life upon a scaffold, or that he was not shot, in the mosses and deserts which he traversed, by the butchering hands of the soldiery, who tracked his steps; and though his death was not violent, yet the hardships, privations, and fatigues he voluntarily underwent for the sake of the gospel, entitle him to the honour of a protracted martyrdom. He was also remarkable, as has been before observed, for the austerity of his manners, which may be regarded by some as a morbid singularity, but which cannot be ascribed to an ambition to acquire the fame of eminent sanctity. The mental depression to which

he was frequently subject, arose partly from natural constitution, and partly from a morbid state of the physical frame, produced or aggravated by the hardships of his lot,—having often to spend the night in caves and mosses,—and from inattention to his health, for “ he never took due care of his body, seldom unclothed himself for years, or went to bed.” This melancholy affecting the whole of his religious feelings and emotions, as it could not fail to do, his piety was of a mournful and conflicting kind, breathing itself forth in groanings which cannot be uttered, and partaking less of exultation and joy than the piety of devout men of a happier natural temperament, and who are placed in more favourable outward circumstances. To this was added a species of enthusiasm, which manifested itself in his public ministrations as well as in his general conduct. All these qualities, which were very prominently developed, threw a kind of solemnity around him, and tended to produce the high veneration, and even awe, with which he was regarded by the religious people of his day. The character of his pulpit address, and his manners in private intercourse, are thus described by Sergeant James Nisbet, who knew him personally, and who was a sufferer in the same cause :—“ Although every act of worship that Mr Peden was engaged in was full of divine flights and useful digressions, yet he carried along with them a divine stamp, and every opening of his mouth seemed for the most part to be dictated by the Spirit of God ; and such was the weighty and convincing majesty that accompanied what he spoke, that it obliged the hearers both to love and fear him. I observed that every time he spoke, whether conversing, reading, praying, or preaching, between every sentence he paused a little,

as if he had been hearkening what the Lord would say unto him, or listening to some secret whisper. And sometimes he would start, as if he had seen some surprising sight, at which he would cry out to the commendation of God in Christ,—to the commendation of the divine love,—and to the commendation of the grace of God in the souls of his people, in their conviction, conversion, and upholding in Christ Jesus.”

Among the many extraordinary things related of Peden, the prophecies ascribed to him are the most remarkable. But there are strong grounds for calling in question their authenticity.* Lord Grange and Wodrow, both of whom were well qualified to judge on this subject, regard them as at once spurious and injurious to Peden’s memory. The former, in a letter to Wodrow, dated 16th April 1725, writes as follows : —“ As to the account you mentioned, lately printed of Mr Peden, you will remember that some months ago I wrote to you how very wilful some people were who have picked up some things, and being endued with small sufficiency, would publish them. The author of that piece was so in my view. A great deal of pains were taken to dissuade him from printing it, at least till it should be revised by men of sound judgment ; but all was in vain, and he would not stop one day. I have talked about it with some who were personally acquainted with Mr Peden, and were often in his company, and from whom I have heard several uncommon things about him. They say the author is mistaken as to several circumstances ; but as to the main in all the passages, or most of them, whereof

* Patrick Walker, the author of *Peden’s Life and Prophecies*, was an eccentric character, and remarkable, among other things, for excessive credulity.

they had particular knowledge, (and they were eye and ear witnesses of diverse,) they say he tells the truth ; but missing of circumstances, and a wrong way and manner of narrating in matters so delicate, gives them a very different form and appearance."* Wodrow, in a letter to Lord Grange, writing on the extraordinary prognostication of future events, for which some of our Scottish reformers were said to be distinguished, says, " I own Patrick Walker's pamphlet, last year, on Mr Peden's life, containing a heap of singular things, without sufficient vouchers to some of them, and others of them very different from what I have from, I thought, good hands, and some of them not in my opinion agreeable to the spirit of Christianity, with a promise of a great many other lives to come, gives me some thoughts of the danger of publishing rude and undigested things of this nature."† It would then appear that some of these alleged prophecies have no foundation whatever in truth, and that others of them which have some foundation have been exaggerated, and in passing from hand to hand, have undergone such alterations as to render them in a great measure apocryphal, which may easily be believed when it is considered that these strange stories were picked up thirty years after Peden's death. As the greater number of them relate to the denunciation of judgments upon individuals, it is not unreasonable to suppose that these had been originally nothing more than warnings, which were explained as prophecies, when shortly after some calamity befell the individuals to whom they were addressed,—an explanation which would be very naturally given by those who believed in Peden's possession of the gift of

* Scots Worthies, Life of Peden, M'Gavin's Edition, vol. i. p. 516.

† Wodrow's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 230.

prophecy, a belief not uncommon among his religious contemporaries. That such was the case, we are the more inclined to believe, from finding that the instances adduced as evidences of the prophetic gift of Peden, and of other suffering ministers, both in his own day and before it, while in some accounts they take the form of prophecies, in others they have only the form of simple warnings. This supposition would greatly reduce the number of the alleged prophecies of Peden, as well as of the rest of our Scottish reformers.

But that individuals have had presentiments of events which afterwards befell both themselves and others, there is every reason to believe, however this may be accounted for ; and that Peden in some cases may have had such presentiments we will not venture to deny, although we would not regard as preternatural every thing viewed in that light in his own age, which was prone to interpret as prophecies, statements which were never intended to be so understood by the speaker, and which can easily be explained without the supposition of any thing extraordinary. Nor are we disposed to lay much stress on what has sometimes been alleged, that God, in times of great difficulty and trial, may afford his people intimations of certain future events for their support and encouragement. The truths and promises contained in God's word, when apprehended by faith, are calculated to afford infinitely greater encouragement and support under suffering and persecution, than any of those intimations regarding future events which we ever read of our reformers having been favoured with.

The prophetic tone in which Peden sometimes spoke, must however, in some instances, be referred in a great

measure to an excited state of mind arising from the sufferings of his times. This is the case with respect to those judgments which he and some others of the suffering ministers, as Mr Donald Cargil, towards the close of the persecution, indulging in gloomy forebodings, denounced as coming upon Scotland. While these have sometimes excited the superstitious veneration of their injudicious friends, they have also formed a theme of ridicule to their enemies ; but candour will make due allowance for the circumstances in which these good men were placed. They had witnessed the church wasted by a severe persecution and every method of oppression, violence, and cruelty which human ingenuity could devise, resorted to for the purpose of destroying freedom of conscience ; they had seen multitudes of the most devout and excellent of their countrymen, for no other cause but nonconformity and resisting arbitrary power, reduced to penury by fines and the confiscation of their property, immured in dungeons, driven into banishment, sent to foreign parts to be sold as slaves, or executed on the scaffold as malefactors or murderers ; and by all this their sympathies were powerfully quickened. Besides, their own severe and protracted hardships, from which they saw no prospect of deliverance but in the grave, were enough to crush the strongest minds. Driven from place to place, and forced to spend days and nights in mountains, mosses, and caves ; strangers to the peace and comforts of domestic life ; denounced as traitors, and cut off from the protection of law and from the assistance of their friends, who could not harbour them or give them a morsel of food or converse with them, but under severe penalties ; pursued by a ruthless soldiery, and exposed to the risk of being shot by their pursuers ; sought

with the most assiduous diligence by spies, informers, and officers of justice, who on some occasions employed the sagacity of dogs to track their footsteps and explore their lurking places ; in danger every hour of being apprehended, thrown into loathsome dungeons, or brought to the scaffold, to die by the hands of the public executioner ; they were kept in a state of constant agitation and anxiety. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that the most patient of men, and especially those of an ardent temperament, of a melancholy imagination, and extreme sensibility, as Peden was, deeply alive to a sense of their own and their fellow-sufferers' wrongs, felt and spoke as if they had heard the appeal of injured and murdered thousands to the justice of God responded to, and saw images of desolation and misery as the effect of divine wrath impending over their country. Nor are these prognostications of coming judgments to be condemned as partaking of fanatic delusion. They were rather an appeal to the justice of Heaven, which throws its shield over the oppressed, and an echo of the cry of the souls of the martyred saints under the altar, "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell upon the earth?" These denunciations were not indeed fulfilled, and this proves that those who uttered them are not entitled to be ranked as prophets ; but had not God's forbearance and mercy interposed, the calamities they augured as approaching would have been the natural and necessary result of the measures then pursued, as has been verified in other countries where a similar system of exterminating persecution has been adopted.

JAMES MITCHELL.

JAMES MITCHELL is known to the readers of Scottish history, chiefly from his bold but unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Archbishop Sharp, and from the illegality of the proceedings of the government against him, which issued in his public execution at the Grass-market of Edinburgh.

Mitchell was educated at the college of Edinburgh, and received his degree of Master of Arts in the year 1656. Mr Robert, afterwards Archbishop Leighton, was at that time Principal of the University, and it was a part of his duty, according to the then existing law, to tender the National Covenant and the Solemn League to candidates for degrees. Mitchell, judging that the matter of these covenants was moral, and finding that they contained an obligation to adhere to the interests of the banished king, to which he was cordially attached, readily took them, thus testifying at once his approbation of the principles of the Second Reformation, and his loyalty to his prince. He also subscribed the oath of allegiance to the king, at a time when many renounced him by taking the tender to Cromwell. When he was afterwards prosecuted by the government, he naturally referred to these proofs of his loyalty ; but

this, so far from recommending him to favour, was treated with contempt by those at the head of affairs.*

At what time Mitchell was licensed to preach the gospel, and how he was employed, whether in teaching, preaching, or otherwise, prior to the engagement at Pentland, is uncertain. In the year 1661, we find Mr Robert Trail, minister at Edinburgh, recommending him to a minister in Galloway, as a pious youth, in poor circumstances, and as qualified for a school or teaching gentlemen's children.†

In 1666 he joined that party of the Covenanters who took up arms and were routed at Pentland Hills, though he was not present at the engagement. From his own confession regarding his accession to that insurrection made before the Privy Council, we learn that on receiving information of the rising in the west, he went from Edinburgh with Colonel Wallace and others to meet with the insurgents, and having joined their ranks, accompanied them in their progress to Pentland, and was with them until the night previous to the battle, when, at the desire of Captain Arnot, he went to Edin-

* In a letter from Edinburgh Tolbooth, February 16. 1674, to a friend, he tells him, that when, on being questioned before the Commissioner and Council as to what he called rebellion, he was proceeding to answer, that at his laureation he took the National Covenant and Solemn League, which favoured the king's interest, and also subscribed the oath of allegiance, the Chancellor stopped him saying, "I'll wad ye are come here to give a testimony." Naphtali, p. 400.

† Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 115. "That which occasions me to write to you at this time is this young man, Mr James Mitchell, his coming to your bounds. I have been acquainted with him now for some few years bygone. I hope you shall find him an honest young man. If you can find out an occasion for him that he may live either in some gentleman's family, or in teaching some school, and precenting in a parish, it will be charity to help him to it, as I believe he is poor." Letter of Mr Robert Trail, minister of Edinburgh, to Mr Thomas Wylie, minister of Kirkcudbright, dated June 13. 1661. Wodrow MSS. vol. xxix. 4to, no. 94.

burgh on some business connected with the party.* He was afterwards proclaimed traitor, with many other principal actors in this affair, and expressly excluded from his Majesty's gracious act of indemnity.

About a month or six weeks subsequent to the defeat, he went over to Flanders on mercantile transactions, where he staid about three quarters of a year, and then returned to Scotland in a Dutch vessel, bringing with him a cargo of goods for sale. While abroad, he had opportunities of meeting and conversing with Mr John Livingstone, and the other ministers who had been banished for their adherence to Presbytery.†

His attempt upon the life of Archbishop Sharp was made not many months after his arrival from the continent. Regarding the Primate as the chief author of all the oppression and cruelty exercised towards his suffering brethren, and being informed, upon what he conceived to be good authority, that a letter from his Majesty forbidding any more blood to be shed on account of the Pentland rising, had been kept back by Sharp until six more were executed; and believing farther, that his own exclusion from the king's indemnity was owing to the enmity of Sharp; the sense both of public and personal wrong operated so powerfully upon his mind, as to give birth to the resolution of taking the life of the ruthless persecutor. For this lawless act he rested his warrant upon some passages of Old Testament Scripture erroneously interpreted,‡ persuading himself that if thereby he could put a stop to the course of persecution, he would perform a deed at once acceptable to God and beneficial to his country, not reflect-

* Register of Acts of Privy Council, 6th January 1676.

† Naphtali, pp. 400, 432, 433.

‡ As Deut. xiii. 9; Num. xv. 8; 2 Chron. xxxi. 1; and Zech. xiii. 3.

ing upon the consequences which would result to society by admitting the principle, that an individual might warrantably take the execution of justice into his own hand, nor upon the increased severities he might thereby entail on those whose sufferings he sought to mitigate. Such were the motives and views, however mistaken, which, according to his own account, and there is no reason to discredit it, prompted him to this desperate and criminal enterprise.* Having bought a pistol and loaded it with three balls, in the afternoon of the 11th July 1668, he watched for the Archbishop coming down from his lodgings to his coach at the head of Blackfriars Wynd, Edinburgh, and perceiving him enter the coach and take his seat, stepping to the north side of the coach fired the pistol at his intended victim by the door. The shot missed the object aimed at; but Honeyman, the Bishop of Orkney, at that moment entering the carriage and stretching forth his hand, was wounded by one of the balls in the wrist. Mitchell, immediately upon firing the pistol, coolly withdrew, none seeming to take any notice of him, save one man who offered to stop him at the head of Niddry's Wynd, but who let him go on his presenting a pistol at him. He went to his lodgings, changed his clothes, and returned to the street. The cry being instantly raised that a man was killed, a crowd speedily collected to the spot where the assault had been made; but when some indifferently said, "It's but a bishop," and the two bishops in great alarm having hastened to the house from which they came, the streets soon resumed their usual quiet appearance. Honeyman's wound never completely healed, and in a few years after it proved the cause of his death.

* Naphtali, pp. 401, 410.

This rash and unjustifiable attempt was deeply injurious to the cause of the persecuted Presbyterians. Just about the time when it took place, there appeared some prospect of a mitigation of the grievous hardships under which they had groaned; the Earl of Tweeddale having entered into consultation with some of the outed ministers, who were in concealment, with a view to their enjoying liberty to discharge their ministry without dependence on the bishops. But this unhappy affair, although none of the Presbyterians either approved it or were privy to it, was laid to the charge of the whole body; it was alleged to be the result of a conspiracy among them, and was made a pretext not only for withholding that favour which the government might have been induced to grant, but for harassing and treating with cruelty many individuals, who were presumed to be acquainted with the intended assassin, or with the supposed combination of which he was the reputed agent.

On the night on which the attempt was made, the aggressor was diligently searched for; and on the 14th of July,* the Council issued a proclamation commanding all magistrates within their respective jurisdictions, and officers of the standing forces, to search for, apprehend, and imprison the guilty person; and offering a reward of two thousand merks Scots to any one who would give such information as would lead to his apprehension, and of four thousand merks to such as should apprehend and "deliver him to sure ward and firmance."

But notwithstanding these efforts, Mitchell remained undetected till the beginning of February 1674. According to Bishop Burnet, the Archbishop having ob-

* Wodrow says the 13th by mistake.

served that the man who kept shop at his door was in the habit of looking very narrowly at him as he passed, began to entertain the apprehension that he intended to assassinate him ; and this circumstance, together with the recollection of the features of the man who shot at him six years before, excited in him a suspicion that it was the same person. By his orders this individual, who was no other than Mitchell, was taken up and examined. He was apprehended by Sir William Sharp, the Archbishop's brother, with five or six of his servants armed for the purpose. When searched, it was found that he had a pistol on him, deeply charged, which increased the suspicion.* When questioned, he denied having any hand in the attempt on the Archbishop's life. But Sharp's suspicions that he was the person being strong, he employed Nicol Sommervail, Mitchell's wife's brother, to deal with him to make a full confession, solemnly promising that he would procure his pardon. Sommervail expressed his hope that the Archbishop did not mean to make use of him as an instrument to trepan a man to his ruin. Upon which Sharp, with uplifted hands, promised by the living God, that no hurt should come to him, if he made a full discovery. Sommervail returned and told him that the prisoner was ready to do as he desired, upon his receiving a promise of safety made in the king's name.

The case was accordingly brought before the Council.

* Burnet says he had two pistols by him. *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. pp. 125, 126. Mitchell, in his examination before a committee of the Privy Council, on the 10th of February, speaks only of one pistol, charged with three balls, which he had about him when he was apprehended, and declares that he bought it about the time that the Archbishop of St Andrews was shot at, from Alexander Logan, dagmaker in Leith Wynd. This, then, was probably the identical pistol which he had used against the Archbishop. *Wodrow's History*, vol. ii. p. 250.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Register, Lord Advocate, and Lord Halton were appointed as a committee to examine him. One of them observing, that "it would be a strange effect of eloquence, to persuade a man to confess and be hanged," the Duke of Lauderdale, then the king's Commissioner, gave them power to promise him his life. Being examined by the committee on the 10th of February, he confessed his accession to the Pentland rising, but refused to confess that he was the person who shot the pistol at the Archbishop of St Andrews, until the Chancellor took him apart, and gave him assurance of his life in these solemn words, "Upon my great oath and reputation, if I be chancellor, I shall save your life ;" when he confessed upon his knees that he was the person. Returning to the committee of the Council he repeated the confession, and subscribed it in their presence. On the 12th, being again examined before the Council, he renewed and adhered to his previous confession, both as to his accession to the Pentland rising, and as to his attempt upon the Archbishop.* The Council having thus succeeded in bringing Mitchell to be his own accuser, remit him to the Justiciary Court, and grant order and warrant to his Majesty's Advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie, to raise an indictment against him for the said crimes, and to pursue him before the Court. At the same time, the Council consulted about the punishment which should be inflicted upon him. Some proposed that his right hand should be cut off ; others, alleging that he might learn to practise with his left, thought that he should

* Burnet speaks as if Mitchell confessed that there was one person privy to his design ; but in Mitchell's confession, as recorded in the Register of the Acts of Privy Council, he deponed upon oath that no living creature knew of it. In his letter to a friend, February 1674, formerly referred to, he makes a similar statement. Naphtali, p. 410.

be deprived of both hands. One of them moved that, since life was promised him, which the amputation of of a limb might endanger, it were better to confine him for life in the prison of the Bass.* But the sentence upon which they ultimately determined was, that his right hand should be cut off by the common hangman at the Cross of Edinburgh, and that his whole goods and property should be forfeited. This sentence, however, was not to be executed till his Majesty was previously acquainted. Mitchell, who at that time appears to have had some fears of being condemned to death, notwithstanding the assurance of life which had been given him, wrote a long letter to a friend from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, dated 16th February 1674, in his own vindication, with the speech which he intended to deliver from the scaffold.†

On the 2d of March, he is brought before the Lords of Justiciary, and impeached for being concerned in the Pentland rising, and for attempting to assassinate Archbishop Sharp. Of these charges the sole evidence was his own confession; and to make this available for his conviction, it was necessary that he should repeat it before the Justiciary Court, it being illegal to use the *extrajudicial* confession of a pannel against himself, as was that of Mitchell before the committee of Council and the Council itself. Every effort was therefore made to induce him to make a judicial confession; and this he might have been prevailed on to do, had not the judge, who hated Sharp, whispered to him in passing to the bench, "Confess nothing, unless you are sure of your limbs as well as of your life." By this hint his fears being excited, he peremptorily re-

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. pp. 125, 126.

† See these papers in Naphtali, pp. 399-425.

fused to own or subscribe the confession he had made before the Council, although told by the Lords of Justiciary and his Majesty's Advocate, that, by doing so, he should have the benefit of the assurance of life which had been given him, but that otherwise he would lose it.*

Thus defeated in their object, the Council, on the 12th of March, passed an Act, in which, after stating that Mitchell having retired with one of the committee of Council, appointed to examine him as to his concern in the attempts upon the life of Sharp, "did then confess upon his knees he was the person, *upon assurance given him by one of the committee as to his life, who had warrant from the Lord Commissioner and Council to give the same,*" they declare that, as he refused to adhere judicially to that confession, they were free from their promise or assurance, which was now altogether void; that the pannel ought not to have the benefit of it; and that the Lords Justiciary and the jury ought to proceed without any respect to such an assurance. The meaning of this, says Bishop Burnet, was, "that if any other evidence was brought against him, the promise should not cover him, but it still was understood that this promise secured him from any ill effect of his own confession." Such is obviously the natural meaning; but whether this was the sense in which the Council understood their own declaration, it is not so easy to say. The Council at the same meeting, having thus, as they conceived, released themselves from the obligation of a solemn oath, and determined to proceed with vigour in his trial, "did, in order thereto, ordain letters to be direct for citing of witnesses to appear be-

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. pp. 125-127.

fore them, at a certain day, or such as they shall appoint, under the pain of rebellion."

Matters being thus prepared, he was again brought before the Justiciary Court on the 25th of March, but there being no evidence except his own extrajudicial confession made before the Council, which he now retracted, the Lords of Justiciary, with consent of his Majesty's Advocate, deserted the diet. Mitchell ought now, according to law and justice, to have been set at liberty, but instead of this he was recommitted to prison. After lying there the greater part of two years, he made an unsuccessful attempt to escape, which being discovered, caused him to be more closely watched, as appears from the act of Council, dated 16th December 1675 :—"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council being informed that Mr James Mitchell, prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, hath attempted to make his escape by breaking up through the prison, do ordain the Magistrates of Edinburgh to cause remove him from the room in which he is at present, to the other side of the prison called the Old Tolbooth, and to take such other course for securing him from making his escape, as they will be answerable at their peril." For securing him the more effectually, he was laid in irons.

On the 6th of January 1676, the Council came to a resolution to put him to the torture before the Court of Justiciary, with the view of compelling him to own judicially the confession which he had made to the Council concerning his accession to the Pentland insurrection. The examination upon torture was to be exclusively confined to this. The reason why his confession as to his attempted assassination of Sharp was not included, does not appear.

Previous to the day appointed for his examination by torture, he was brought before the committee of Council, and the Lords of Justiciary, on two different occasions, namely on the 18th and 22d of January, with the view of bringing him to adhere to his former confession, but this he refused to do. On the second occasion, the Earl of Linlithgow, who was preses of the Council, addressed him thus:—"Sir, you are here again, that we may know whether you will adhere to your former confession," and opened a paper to the pannel, which he alleged was his subscribed confession. Mitchell answered, "My Lord, I acknowledge no such thing." "Then, Sir," returned the preses, pointing to the boots, "you see what is upon the table before you, I shall see if that can cause you do it." Mitchell replied with much good sense, and as became a Christian and a freeman, "My Lord, I confess that by that torture you may cause me blaspheme God, as Saul did compel the saints; you may by that torture cause me to speak amiss of your Lordships, to call myself a thief, a murderer, or warlock, and what not, and then pannel me upon it. But if you shall, my Lords, put me to it, I here protest before God and your Lordships, that nothing extorted from me by torture shall be made use of against me in judgment, nor have any force against me in law, or any person whatsoever. But to be plain with your Lordships, I am so much a Christian, that whatever your Lordships shall legally prove against me, if it be a truth, I will not deny it. But, my Lord, on the contrary, I am so much a man, yea and a Scotsman, that I never held myself obliged, either by the law of God or nature, or by the law of the nation, to become my own accuser." Re-

TORTURE OF THE ROOTS.

fusing to acknowledge that he had subscribed the paper, he was again sent back to prison.

Upon the 24th, according to the appointment of the Council, the committee of Council and Lords of Justiciary, in their robes, constituted into a court, assembled in the Parliament House, where the Justiciary Court was ordinarily held. The executioner was also present with the boots. Mitchell being brought before the bar, was asked by the Lord Preses if he would yet confess before he was put to the torture. He still declined; and after protesting before God and their Lordships, that whatever might be extorted from him by torture, should not be made use of against him or any other person in judgment, nor have any force in law, he said, "You may call the man whom you have appointed to your work." A macer was instantly ordered to call upon the executioner and two officers, who bound him in an arm-chair, and bringing the boots, inquired which of his legs they should take. The Lords bade the executioner take any of them, upon which he laid the left leg in the boot. But Mitchell, lifting it out, said, "Since the judges have not determined it, take the best of the two, for I freely bestow it in the cause;" and put his right leg into the engine.* After the torture was begun, the King's Advocate lectured him upon the sovereignty of the magistrate, and on the sinfulness of lying upon

* The instrument called the Boots, consisted of four pieces of wood very firmly fastened together, so as to form a kind of box capable of admitting the leg. Into this were inserted moveable staves, between which and the box a wedge was driven, so as to squeeze or compress the leg to almost any degree according to the number of strokes given to it. Bishop Burnet observes that the common torture was only to drive the wedges between the instrument and the calf of the leg, but that he had been told that they were sometimes driven in between it and the shin-bone.

any account. Mitchell replied, " I would say more than the advocate, I would say that the magistrate whom God hath appointed is God's deputy, and that both the throne and the judgment are the Lord's, while he judges for God, and according to the law of God, and that a great part of his office is to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor, and to shed no innocent blood ; and that not only lying is sinful, but that a pernicious speaking of the truth is a dreadful sin before God, when it tends to the shedding of innocent blood." During the torture, upwards of thirty written questions were put to him, and his answers were taken down from his mouth. The executioner, at every stroke, inquired if he had any more to say, to which Mitchell answered, " No more, my Lords." At the ninth stroke, he fainted through the extremity of pain, upon which the executioner exclaimed, " Alas ! my Lords, he is gone, he is gone." Then the torture was stopped. Recovering in a short time, he was carried to prison in the chair on which he had suffered. It was proposed to subject the other leg to the same treatment, but some of his friends, on hearing of this, having sent a letter to Sharp, assuring him that if he persisted in torturing the pannel, he should have a shot from a steadier hand ; nothing farther of the kind was attempted.* Mitchell endured this cruel treatment with much courage and fortitude, discovering nothing which could implicate either himself or others, and thus entirely defeated the end proposed by his inhuman persecutors.†

* Law's Memorials, p. 85.

† Mr John Carstairs, in a letter to Mr Robert M'Ward, dated February 16. 1676, says, " You have heard, no doubt, ere now, of Mr James Mitchell's torture by the boot, and of his honest and resolute courage under it, and of the Lord's helping, so that no advantage was got of him. There was

Mitchell continued in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh till the 30th January 1677, when he and Mr James Fraser of Brea were carried to the Bass by a guard of twelve horse and thirty foot, and, on their arrival, were delivered to the governor of the garrison. Here he lay in close confinement and great misery till near the end of the year, being denied the mitigation which was granted to the other prisoners.

But the revenge of Sharp could be satisfied with nothing less than the life of his enemy, and on the 9th of October, the Council, doubtless by his instigation, recommend to his Majesty's Advocate* to insist criminally against Mitchell for his attempted assassination. On the 6th December, they grant the advocate warrant and order to raise a criminal process before the Justiciary Court against him for the alleged crime, and ordained that he should be transported prisoner from the Bass to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, by a sufficient party of horse and foot, where he was to be kept close prisoner until he received his indictment; requiring the keeper of the Tolbooth, during the whole time of his imprisonment, to keep him "in sure firmance that he escape not, as he would be answerable." His indictment was now limited to the attempt upon the bishops, and his trial commenced on the 7th of January 1678. Sir Archibald Primrose, lately turned out of the office of Lord Register, to make way for a friend of Lauderdale, and made Justice-General, presided at the trial. Mitchell's counsels were Sir George Lockhart and Mr John Ellis. Both

much talking of putting him to further torture by Halton's instigation, from which others were averse, looking on it as cruel." Wodrow MSS. vol. lix. folio, no. 47.

* Sir George M'Kenzie of Rosehaugh, called "the bloody M'Kenzie."

these eminent lawyers, and particularly the former, pled his cause with much ability, and they would have succeeded in bringing him off, had it not been the determination of Sharp to have his life. After long debate upon the points libelled, both on that day and on the 9th of the same month to which the Court adjourned, the Lords Justiciary found the several parts of the indictment relevant, and that his confession on the 16th of February 1674, in presence of his Majesty's High Commissioner and Lords of Privy Council, was judicial, and could not be retracted; but that the defence urged by Mitchell against the said confession, viz. That the same was made upon promise or assurance of impunity of life and limb, was relevant to secure him as to life and limb, in case the defence should be proven. All these points being remitted to a jury, and the jury being sworn, and no objections made to them, the Court proceeded with the probation. The depositions of the witnesses examined, failed in proving the guilt of the prisoner. The great proof against him was his own confession, made about four years before, and as he had been induced to make it upon a solemn promise of the Council that his life would be spared, it ought, in the absence of all other evidence, to have secured him against capital punishment. But to deprive him of the benefit of that promise, the Earl of Rothes, Chancellor, Lord Halton, Treasurer-Depute, and the Duke of Lauderdale, the King's Commissioner, solemnly swore that no such promise had ever been made to him; while Sharp, in like manner, swore that he never heard any promise of life given him by the Council, and that he had never promised to Nicol Sommervail to use his endeavours to obtain

favour for Mitchell, upon his making a free and full confession.* The depositions of these four individuals, the most remarkable in the prosecution, excited the astonishment of all who were present, and struck with horror every mind which had any sense of the solemnity of an oath. Four of the principal officers of state thus came forward, and deliberately perjured themselves in the face of the country to accomplish the death of an individual for whose blood they thirsted. Lockhart, upon this, produced a copy of the act of Council, containing the promise made to Mitchell,† craved that the Register of Council containing that act might be produced, or the clerk obliged to give an extract, and desired that he and the other procurator for the pannel might be heard in writing upon it. He pleaded, that since the Court had judged that the

* “ The Archbishop, on oath, likewise denies the promise of life, saying it was not in his power to grant remissions. Nicoll Sommervail, the agent, brother-in-law to the pannel, boldly contradicted him, and bid him remember such and such times and words, and seemed to make his narration very probable. The Archbishop fell in a mighty chaff and passion, exceedingly unbecoming his station, and the circumstances he was then stated in, and fell a scolding before thousands of onlookers. Nicoll yielded in nothing; and after the Bishop had sworn, he cried out, that, upon his salvation, what he had affirmed was true; which was to accuse the Archbishop of downright perjury; but it was overlooked, because *justo dolori temperare non poterat*, and the misfortune was, that few there but they believed Nicoll better than the Archbishop.” Fountainhall’s MSS. vol. i. quoted in Kirkton’s History, pp. 385, 386. Wodrow informs us, that when Sommervail maintained, in the face of the Court, that Sharp had promised to secure Mitchell’s life, provided he confessed, Sharp boldly denied having done any such thing, and called it a villanous lie. History, vol. ii. p. 472.

† Primrose, the Lord Justice-General, who bore the deepest malice against these four members of the Government, and who was much gratified at the thought, that they were to appear before him to perjure themselves, had taken a copy of the act from the Books of Council, and sent it to Lockhart.

Council was a judicature,* all persons had a right to search into their registers, and the prisoner, who was in danger of suffering on the ground of a confession made before the Council, ought to have the benefit of these books. The Duke of Lauderdale, who was in Court only as a witness, and who had therefore no right to speak, stood up and said, that he and the other officers of state had come thither in obedience to a citation upon his Majesty's letters of exculpation to depone, and not to be accused of perjury ; adding, that the books of Council were the King's secrets, and that no court should be allowed to peruse them. The Court was thus overawed, and divided in opinion. Primrose, and another lord, were for calling the books, but three opposed this, on the ground of informality, arguing, that as " the copy of the pretended act of Council produced, was never urged or made use of, nor any diligence craved for producing the Registers of Council, until this afternoon that the assize was sworn ; after which, no diligence can be allowed or granted, in this state of the process, by the laws of the kingdom."† This defence being thus rejected,—although a copy of the act which Mitchell's procurators produced was publicly read, by the consent of the King's Advocate, but rejected as evi-

* To prove that Mitchell's confession before the Council was judicial, the King's Advocate asserted in his reasoning upon the articles of the libel, that the Privy Council was the supreme judicatory of the nation, and a competent judge in his case. Lockhart shewed, with much force of evidence, that the Privy Council was not the proper court for such crimes, and that, when taking the prisoner's confession, they were not sitting as a court of judicature. But this was overruled by the Court, and the confession was found to be judicial.

† " It choaked," says an eminent lawyer, " the principles of both criminal law and equity to say it was too late, for *nunquam in criminalibus concluditur contra rem*, any time before the enclosing of the assize." Fountainhall's MSS. vol. i. quoted in Kirkton's History, p. 386.

dence, because it was a bare copy not attested upon oath; —the jury were immediately ordained to be enclosed, and to return their verdict to-morrow (10th of the month) at two o'clock in the afternoon. Their verdict was, that they had unanimously found it proven, that he had invaded the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Bishop of Orkney, the latter of whom he had wounded, and that he had confessed these crimes before his Majesty's High Commissioner and Council, but that his exculpation was not proven.* Upon the return of this verdict, he was sentenced "to be taken to the Grass-market of Edinburgh, upon Friday, the 18th day of January instant, betwixt two and four o'clock in the afternoon, and there to be hanged on a gibbet till he be dead, and all his moveable goods and gear to be escheat and inbrought to his Majesty's use."

As soon as the Court broke up, and the four lords who had been examined, went up to a room above the Court in which the books of Council lay, they found the act containing the promise of pardon recorded, and signed by Lord Rothes, as President of Council.† Lauderdale, for a momont relenting, seemed inclined

* To obtain such a verdict as was desired, the jury was picked. "It was judged ane argument of a bad deplorat cause," says Fountainhall, "that they summoned and picked out an assize of soldiers, under the King's pay, and others who, as they imagined, would be clear to condemn him." Quoted in Kirkton's History, p. 386.

† It can hardly be supposed that so many could have lost all recollection of the promise of life made to Mitchell, especially as they had been reminded of it. Mitchell, at the bar, entreated the Chancellor to remember the honour of the family of Rothes, and to mind that he took him by the hand and said, "Jacobe, now confess, and as I am Chancellor of Scotland ye shall be safe in life and limb." Fountainhall's MSS. "They were not probably aware," says Hume, "when they swore, that the clerk having engrossed the promise of pardon in the narrative of Mitchell's confession, the whole minutes had been signed by the Chancellor, and that the proofs of their perjury were by that means committed to record." See p. 66.

to grant a reprieve to Mitchell, and to refer the matter to the King ; but Sharp, proving inexorable, rigidly insisted on his execution, alleging, that for favour to be shewn to such an assassin, was, upon the matter, to expose his person to any man that would attempt to murder him. " Then," said Lauderdale, with a profane and heartless jest, " let Mitchell glorify God in the Grassmarket." " This action," says Burnet, " and all concerned in it, were looked at by all people with horror. And it was such a complication of treachery, perjury, and cruelty, as the like had not perhaps been known." He adds, " Primrose not only gave me an account of this matter, but sent me an authentic record of the trial, every page signed by the clerk of the Court, of which I have here given an abstract. This I set down the more fully, to let my readers see to what a height of wickedness man may be carried, after they have once thrown off good principles. What Sharp did now to preserve his life from such practices, was probably that which, both in the just judgment of God, and the infatuated fury of wicked men, brought him, two years after, to such a dismal end. Primrose did most inhumanly triumph in this matter, and said it was the greatest glory of his life that the four greatest enemies he had, should come and consign the damnation of their souls in his hands. I told him that was an expression fitter for a devil than a Christian."*

Two days after the pronouncing of Mitchell's doom, orders came from the Court, which were doubtless procured by Sharp, that his head and hands should be fixed on the gates of the city ; but it was found that the sentence could not be altered, and thus the revengeful spirit of Sharp was deprived of the gratifica-

* Burnet's History of his own Times, pp. 125-132.

tion of seeing the mangled members of his enemy exhibited as a public spectacle.* About the same time, Mitchell's wife, Elizabeth Sommervail, presented to the Council a petition, beseeching, in very affecting terms, that their Lordships would reprieve him for some time, to afford her an opportunity of seeing him, and taking a last farewell, which she could not at that time do, having been recently delivered of a child, and being then afflicted with fever. But this petition* was rejected. In terms of the sentence, he was executed at the Grassmarket on the 18th of January, and resigned himself to his fate with unshrinking fortitude. The concluding sentence of what he designed for his speech on the scaffold, but which being interrupted by the beating of drums in attempting to deliver it, he threw over the scaffold, and some copies of which he gave to a few of his friends, is in these words,—“ Farewell, all earthly employments ; and welcome, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit.”

Such was the closing scene of this dismal tragedy ; on which we have dwelt the longer, because it sets in a clear light the unprincipled character of the men who were conducting the persecution against the Presbyterians. From such men good government was not to be expected, and every thing to be feared which the malignant passions might dictate. The attempt of Mitchell, though we believe him to have been a man of piety, and, with this single exception, of unblemished life, was doubtless criminal in itself, and what, had it been legally proved, demanded to be punished, though the punishment of death might be deemed unduly se-

* Kirkton's History, p. 384.

† It is inserted in Naphtali, p. 440.

vere.* But his guilt was forgotten by thinking men of all parties, in the abhorrence with which they regarded the complicated perfidy, cruelty, and revenge, by which the proceedings against him were disgraced.

It is gratifying to know that the Presbyterians cannot be implicated in Mitchell's attempt. None of them were concerned in it; and nearly all of them, notwithstanding their antipathy to Sharp, condemned it. They might, no doubt, think that the responsibility connected with it was, in a great measure, to be laid at the door of the government, whose violence and cruelty were driving the people to desperation, and produced on the mind of Mitchell the conviction that liberty and the protection of property and life could only be secured by taking away the life of a man whom he believed to be the chief author of the sufferings of his countrymen; but they repudiated as dangerous and unwarrantable the principle, that he could be justified, as he himself maintained, from Phinehas killing Cosbi and Zimri, and from the law of Moses, which commanded that the seducer to idolatry should be put to death by the hand of those whom he sought to seduce. They were more enlightened interpreters of Scripture; and they sought relief by more rational and defensible means. Amidst a protracted and most exasperating persecution, there were only a very few individuals whom a sense of intolerable oppression moved, in the moment of feverish excitement, to revenge their own and their country's wrongs by assassination. The body

* "The law that reached his life was the 4th Act of the Parliament 1660, against invading and pursuing of counsellors, though it was only made *ad terrorem*, and in dissuetude, and never practised as to pain of death; for otherways, *Conatus sine effectu consummato nunquam punitur capitaliter*." Fountainhall's MSS. vol. i., quoted in Kirkton's History, p. 384.

of them indeed viewed with indignation the maddened attempts of government to rob them of their dearest rights; but it was with restrained, because virtuous and Christian indignation. And if, at a subsequent period, when their feelings had become irritated and inflamed by a continued series of almost unheard-of cruelties, a portion of them issued a Declaration, denouncing vengeance against mercenary spies and others who had an active part in shedding their blood,* what they chiefly aimed at was to arrest the course of persecution, by inspiring their persecutors with a salutary terror; and so reluctant were they to imbrue their hands in blood, that only two or three instances have been adduced in which that declaration led to murder. Never were men less eager to take revenge. Never has any country or age exhibited a brighter example of patience and forbearance under such aggravated and long-continued wrongs. The Christian virtues were too largely developed in the Scottish Covenanters to admit of the exhibition of the darker passions of our nature; and the moralist or philosopher, who would find illustrations of the fanatical and sanguinary in character, must search in other fields than their history, where happily he will glean but very scanty materials for his purpose.

* We allude to "The Apologetic Declaration and Admonitory Vindication anent Intelligencers and Informers," published by the Society People.

JOHN GREIG.

JOHN GREIG was settled in Skirling, a small parish in the western side of Peebles-shire, subsequent to the year 1649. Of his history while in that charge, as well as during the earlier part of his life, nothing is now known. Only it is evident, that as he had been educated during the best days of the Church of Scotland, he had embraced those views of ecclesiastical polity for which she so strenuously contended, and regarded them as worthy of every worldly sacrifice. The first information we have concerning him, relates to his ejection from his parish after the restoration of Charles II., for refusing to conform to Prelacy. He thus occupies a place among that noble band of confessors, whose Christian principle and heroism in sacrificing the status and emoluments of their office to their convictions of truth and duty, entitle them to the lasting admiration and gratitude of posterity. How he was employed during the ten years subsequent to this we are not informed, for we do not again meet with him till 1672, when, by the second indulgence* granted on

* The first indulgence was granted by a letter from the king to the Privy Council in July 1669. Though in some respects less objectionable than the second, it proceeded from the same source, the king's usurped supremacy over the church, and the regulations to which it subjected ministers were equally Erastian. It was extended to forty-two ministers. Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 131-133.

the 3d of September that year, he, with Mr James Kirkton, who became one of the ministers of Edinburgh after the revolution, were appointed to the parish of Carstairs in Lanarkshire.

This indulgence Greig for a considerable time refused to accept, although he occasionally preached in Carstairs, and ultimately engaged to the Privy Council to confine himself to that parish.* He seems, however, never to have been altogether reconciled to it, for he was from time to time breaking through the restrictions which it imposed ; and considering its objectionable character, it is to be regretted that it should have been embraced by any of those who had acted so disinterested and noble a part in sacrificing their worldly all for the sake of a good conscience in 1662, and who on the same account had patiently endured poverty and persecution during many years subsequent.

The second indulgence, which was granted to about eighty outed Presbyterian ministers, who by twos, threes, and fours, were confined to about fifty-eight parishes, is laid down in three acts. According to the first act, the preamble of which expressly states, that the design in conferring it is to get rid of conventicles, the indulged were to remain confined within those parishes allocated to them, where and where alone they were allowed to preach and exercise the other parts of their ministerial function. According to the second act, they were required to observe rules of a very stringent character, such as to marry or baptize only those who belonged to their respective parishes, or to the neighbouring parishes vacant for the time—to solemnise the Lord's Supper all upon the same day—to preach only in their parish kirks, and if they presumed to preach in

* Row's Continuation of the Life of Robert Blair.

the church-yards, or in any other place, they were to be reputed and punished as keepers of conventicles—not to go out of their own parishes without licence from the bishop of the diocese—to pay the ordinary dues to bursars, clerks of Presbyteries and Synods ; and in the exercise of discipline, all such cases as were formerly referable to Presbyteries were to continue still to be so. By the third act, the outed ministers, not indulged, were required to hear and communicate in the kirk of the parish where each happened to reside, or to remove to some other parish where they would be ordinary hearers and communicants, and if they should reside in the parish of any indulged minister, they were allowed to preach there on his invitation, but not otherwise ; and if they should take upon them to preach and perform other functions of the ministry, the sheriffs and other magistrates of the bounds were required to search for, seize upon, and imprison them, and give information to the Lords of Council, who were to determine what punishment should be inflicted upon them.*

It is evident, at first sight, that this indulgence was in a very high degree objectionable. It proceeded from the supremacy in ecclesiastical matters claimed by the Crown, and was a glaring encroachment upon the intrinsic rights of the Church, and upon the liberties of the ambassadors of Christ, whom it degraded and enslaved, by bringing them, in the discharge of their Christian ministry, under the immediate inspection and control of the civil authority, which claimed the power of excluding from or appointing to the exercise of the ministry whom they pleased,—of arbitrarily fixing and restricting them to whatever parishes they thought fit,—of prescribing to them rules how to dis-

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 203-206.

charge their ministerial functions,—of calling them to an account for their obedience thereto,—and of suspending and silencing such as disobeyed their instructions. It laid an interdict upon the extension of the gospel, by yoking them by twos, threes, and fours, to a parish, confining them there as malefactors, and thus depriving the rest of the Church of the benefit of their labours, at a time when there was never more need of the faithful preaching of the gospel, nor greater desire among the people to enjoy it. It was granted with the express intention, as is plainly asserted in the preamble to the first act, of suppressing the free preaching of the gospel at those meetings, nicknamed conventicles, which had been eminently blessed of God for the advancement of the cause of true religion ; and it gave to the Government a pretext for persecuting with greater severity those who would not accept of it, as obstinate and impracticable fanatics, whom no favour could conciliate. It entirely deprived the indulged ministers of the power of exercising church government, an essential part of the Christian ministry, as appears from the last clause of the last act ; and thus, among other things necessary for the good of the Church, they were precluded from licensing or ordaining men, for the preservation of a succession of faithful ministers.

Such being the character of this indulgence, it is not surprising to find that many of the Presbyterians regarded the acceptance of it as involving a sacrifice of principle ; and that the indulgences proved more disastrous to their cause than all that they had suffered from their enemies, by dividing them in their views as to the grounds of their common suffering, creating

jealousies, animosities, and separation, where sympathy, affection, and union, were so much required.

After the indulgence was published, several meetings were held among the Presbyterian ministers, to consider whether or not it should be accepted. There appeared much opposition, but nothing determinate was agreed upon ; and the greater part to whom it was extended ultimately accepted it, conceiving that the amount of liberty which it granted, might be embraced without homologating the Erastian power of the magistrate, from which they admitted that it proceeded, or sanctioning its objectionable restrictions, against both which some of them protested when they first entered their pulpits.*

Greig, and such ministers as like him refused to accept of the indulgence, were special objects of the jealousy and resentment of the Government, which could see their conduct in no other light than as an obstinate rejection of a favour, for which they ought to have been very thankful. Provided he had gone to his confinement, and observed the imposed restrictions, he would have enjoyed outward peace. But declining to do this, and preaching, as occasion offered, in other places besides Carstairs, he was soon molested as a keeper of conventicles, and subjected to the penalty of the laws then in force against such meetings. The curates, than whom the Presbyterian ministers had no greater enemies, and who acted the detestable part of spies and informers, observed him with a watchful eye, and were not slack in conveying information to the proper quarter. In the grievances given in by the several Presbyteries of the diocese of Glasgow to the Synod, October 22. 1674, and which, they intended,

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 210.

should be laid before the Parliament and Privy Council, it is complained, that "in the Presbytery of Lanark, conventicles are kept by Mr John Greig, at Boghall, though confined to Carstairs."*

Nor was it long before he fell into the hands of the Government. Towards the end of February 1675, when preaching at a meeting held at Leith Mills, in the house of Thomas Stark, who was married to his sister, he was apprehended and imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. His brother, Mr James Greig, and his brother-in-law, with several other persons belonging to Edinburgh and Leith, who had been present at the conventicle, were also apprehended and imprisoned; but all of them, with the exception of the preacher, his brother, and brother-in-law, were shortly after dismissed, upon giving bond for their appearance when called.† After some weeks' imprisonment, Greig, for no other cause than preaching at the above meet-

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 264. Wodrow has "James" by mistake. Of the hostility of the curates to the Presbyterians, this paper affords abundant proof. One of the grievances is thus expressed:—"Several horrid crimes are committed at conventicles, as incest, bestiality, murder of children, in the Presbyteries of Ayr and Lanark, besides frequent adulteries, and other acts of wickedness, as our registers at more length bear; particularly one who was apprehended, and confessed bestiality at Lanark, and was let go without any punishment." Ibid. p. 265. Malice never invented a fouler calumny; and of such accusations, even the great body of the persecutors appear to have been altogether incredulous. The Government was liberal in loading the Presbyterians with odious epithets, as madcaps, fanatics, seditious persons, traitors, and so forth, of which the registers of their acts are full; but you may search these documents till doomsday without discovering any instance in which they stigmatize them by an epithet expressive of the abominable crimes of which they are accused in these grievances. How much does this resemble the slanders brought against the primitive Christians by their virulent persecutors, who accused them of practising in their assemblies the most scandalous licentiousness; and how completely have persecutors in every age proved themselves to be "of their father the devil, who is a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies."

† Row's Continuation of the Life of Robert Blair.

ing, was sentenced, by an act of Privy Council, dated 9th March, to be carried prisoner to the Bass. The act is as follows:—

“ The Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council do hereby grant order and warrant to the Earl of Errol, or, in his absence, to the next commanding officer of the troop under his command, upon sight hereof, by a party of the said troop, to receive from the Magistrates of Edinburgh the person of Mr John Greig, prisoner in the Tolbooth, upon the account of the conventicle kept by him at Leith Mills, and to transport him to the Bass, and to deliver him to the commanding officer of the garrison there, who is hereby ordered to receive and detain him prisoner until farther orders: and grant warrant to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to deliver the person of the said Mr John Greig to the Earl of Errol, or any having his order to the effect foresaid.”

Such was the sentence pronounced upon Greig, who according to the laws against conventicles was the chief culprit. But as it was also criminal to be present at such meetings, those who had been apprehended as hearers, and set at liberty upon giving security to appear when called, were summoned before the Council, and fined in various sums, as we learn from the Act of Council, dated 11th March 1675 :—

“ Forasmuch as the persons underwritten, viz. Patrick Telfer, tailor in Edinburgh, Thomas Stark in Leith Mills, James Blackie, baxter in Edinburgh, William Lawson, merchant there, Thomas Spence, merchant there, William Fleming in Leith, James Tait, merchant in Edinburgh, John Walker, smith in Calton, William M’Clair, there, Mr James Greig, brother to Mr John Greig, minister, James Sinclair, Thomas Massie in the Canongate, William Hislop in Leith, being charged by virtue of let-

ters direct at the instance of his Majesty's Advocate, to have compeared and answered for being present at a conventicle kept in the house of the said Thomas Stark, in Leith Mills, at which Mr John Greig, an outed indulged minister, did preach, the said persons compeared personally, and did confess they were present at the said conventicle : The Lords of Council do therefore fine the said persons in the sums following, viz. the said Patrick Telfer in 12 lbs. Scots, Thomas Stark in 50 lbs., James Blackie in 6 lbs., William Lawson in 100 lbs., Thomas Spence in 100 lbs., William Fleming in 12 lbs., James Tait in 100 lbs., John Walker in 12 lbs., Mr James Greig in 40 lbs. ; which sums the said Lords do ordain them to pay to Sir William Sharp, cash-keeper, for his Majesty's use, within 48 hours, and to find caution for that effect ; otherwise to go to prison until they pay the same. But in regard the said James Sinclair, William Hislop, and Thomas Massie, did promise never to go to any conventicles hereafter, therefore they dismissed them without any censure ; and in respect George Anderson did not compear, they declare the bond of cautionary for his appearance to be forfeited, and ordain the cautioner to be charged for the penalty therein."

The order appointing Greig to be carried prisoner to the Bass was not at this time executed, the Council at their meeting on the 12th of March having, in compliance with a petition which he presented to them, suspended the execution of the sentence until the 2d day of May following, when they were again to meet.

At their meeting in the beginning of May, he presented a second petition, offering to go to his confinement in the parish of Carstairs, according to the act of Council, and under the penalty expressed in the act.

The Council offered to let him go to his confinement, providing he would engage to keep it, and not to preach in any other place. But believing that this was to require him to do what was inconsistent with the will of Christ, who commanded him "to preach the gospel to every creature," and that when civil rulers would set aside the commands of Christ they are not to be obeyed, he refused to come under such an obligation, and was accordingly remitted to prison. The Duke of Hamilton spoke in his favour, alleging that his offer should be accepted, as being obedience to the act of Council; but Halton, one of the most severe and furious of the persecutors, opposing this, he lay in prison other five months, during which time he was usefully employed in preaching to his fellow-prisoners.*

Again presenting another petition to the Privy Council, an act was passed on the 7th of October, "appointing the magistrates of Edinburgh to set him at liberty, and ordaining him to repair to and remain confined within the parish of Carstairs, to which he was formerly confined, discharging him to remove forth thereof under the pain of two thousand merks Scots money." With his sentence Greig complied;† but it was not easy for him, by submitting to this confinement, to exclude himself from all participation in the society and religious worship of highly valued, non-indulged ministers, who magnanimously preached in private

* "About the middle of July there were three ministers taken in the west, who were assisting at the celebration of the Communion, viz. Messrs Hugh Peebles, John Campbell, and John Blair, from Glasgow. They were brought to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the Tolbooth, with Mr John Greig, who continued prisoner, and was constantly preaching to the rest of the prisoners, as Mr Peden did in the Bass."—Row's Continuation of the Life of Robert Blair.

† "About this time Mr John Greig is liberated, and goes to his confinement, in obedience to the act of Council." Ibid.

houses and in the fields at the peril of their lives. At the risk of incurring the resentment of the rulers, and of losing his indulgence, he frequently, at least, attended such meetings, if he did not officiate at them. Intelligence of this being conveyed to the government, he is summoned to appear before the Council on the 7th of August 1677. The charge for which he was called to answer is expressed in these words, that "Albeit the Lords of Privy Council were favourably pleased to confine him to the parish of Carstairs, with liberty to preach and exercise the other functions of the ministry" within that parish, he had "not only so far abused the said favour as to break his confinement, but had also, upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of January, February, March, April, May, June, and July 1677, kept and been present at diverse house and field conventicles, within the shires of Lanark and other places adjacent, where he hath preached, prayed, and exercised the other functions of the ministry, at the least hath been present thereat." As he did not compare, "the said Lords do declare that he has forefaulted and lost the benefit of the indulgence, allowing him to preach at the said kirk of Carstairs, and any right he can pretend to the bygone stipends of the said kirk, unless he, betwixt and the first Council day of September, compare before the Council, and give an account of himself as to the said process pursued against him."

An act of Council having been passed on the 2d of May 1677, in which it is declared that in future no more Presbyterian ministers would be indulged, but that the kirks of such as died or were removed should be planted with "regular ministers," Greig's place should have been filled with a "regular minister." This act was generally

observed, but in the present case an indulged minister, Mr Anthony Murray, ejected from the parish of Culter after the Restoration for nonconformity, was, from his being related to the Duchess of Lauderdale, appointed by the Council, on the 7th of August, to succeed Greig as indulged minister in the parish of Carstairs. But, Murray being afterwards removed to Carmichael, Greig, it appears, was restored to Carstairs.*

We do not again meet with him till the 8th of October 1684, when he, with eight other indulged ministers, were put to trouble for breaking several of their instructions,—for their neglecting to observe the 29th day of May, the anniversary of the birth and restoration of Charles II.,†—and for refusing to read from the pulpit the proclamation enjoining a thanksgiving to be observed throughout the country on the 9th of September 1683, for his Majesty and the Duke of York's deliverance from the Rye-house plot, and which was ordered to be read from the pulpit by all the ministers in the Church of Scotland, upon the Sabbath immediately preceding the thanksgiving, and also upon the thanksgiving day.‡ It was from no disloyalty, but entirely on conscientious grounds, that Greig and these Presbyterian ministers declined observing the anniversary of the 29th of May, and reading to their congregations the proclamation for a thanksgiving. They scrupled to observe the anniversary, because, like the first reformers who abolished all the holidays which Catholic

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 347, 349; and vol. iv. p. 39.

† The restoration of Charles took place on his birth-day, and this was marked, at the time, among the other presages of the future glory of his reign.

‡ There was also an English Declaration for a thanksgiving, to be observed throughout England and Wales, on the same day, which the ministers in Scotland were required to read, along with the proclamation of the Council in Scotland. Wodrow's History, vol. iii. p. 503.

superstition had imposed, they believed that it was the exclusive prerogative of God to consecrate or make holy any portion of time—that the Sabbath is the only holy day which he has instituted—and that for the Church or magistrates to assume the power to appoint stated or anniversary holy days, and for the members of the Church to observe them, was contrary to the second precept of the moral law, which forbids “all devising, counselling, commanding, urging, and any wise approving, any religious worship not instituted by God himself.”* Besides, they objected to the observance of this anniversary, because, in the preamble of the act of Parliament appointing it, all that had been done for twenty-three years before in advancing the work of reformation is denounced as “a public rebellion,” designedly and violently carried on “under the specious pretences of reformation ;” and they could not, therefore, observe that day without condemning what they had vowed and sworn to maintain, and acknowledging themselves, who had been engaged in the work thus stigmatised, as traitors and rebels. Their declining to read the proclamation enjoining a thanksgiving arose from difficulties of a similar kind. It was given out in the proclamation that a conspiracy had been formed to take away the life of the King and his brother the Duke of York ; whereas there was no such design ; the real amount of the matter being that some patriotic noblemen, gentry, and rich merchants, residing in London and other places, had held some secret meetings to consult about the best means for preserving the Protestant religion, and preventing these nations from sinking into popery and slavery.† Besides, the pro-

* Larger Catechism, Ques. 109.

† M'Crie's *Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson*, p. 141.

clamation, which was artfully entitled “Proclamation indicting a thanksgiving for the deliverance from the *fanatical* conspiracy,” was studiously intended to throw the odium of the whole upon the Presbyterians, who would at once be suggested by the epithet *fanatical*, that being the ordinary designation applied to them by the government.* It is not therefore wonderful that conscientious Presbyterian ministers chose rather to hazard their reputation for loyalty, and to expose themselves to the penalty of the law, than to read from the pulpit a document which branded their own party as fanatics, and held them up to public detestation as the authors of a desperate purpose to murder the King and his royal brother, while no evidence had been adduced of their guilt.

These omissions were not to be tolerated. The government, having little conscience themselves, could account for conscientious scruples in others in no other way than by imputing them to obstinacy of temper, and never thought of yielding to them in any case. Greig, and the eight other indulged ministers,† were libelled before the Privy Council at Glasgow, on the 8th of October 1684, for these delinquencies. After the reading of the libel, on being asked whether they pleaded guilty to the charges brought against them, they ingenuously confessed their having broken several of their instructions; their neglecting to observe the 29th of May; and that they had not read the proclamation,

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii. p. 503.

† These eight other ministers were—Mr James Currie, at Shotts; Mr John Oliphant, at Stonehouse; Mr John Lauder, at Dalziel; Mr Patrick Kid, at Carluke; Mr Anthony Murray, at Carmichael; Mr Robert Murray, at Neilston; Mr James Hutchison, at Killean; and Mr Robert Mitchell, at Luss. Minutes of Council at Glasgow, 8th October, in Warrants of Privy Council.

enjoining the thanksgiving for his Majesty's preservation from "the late fanatical conspiracy." This confession they subscribed at the bar of the Council. The Lords having considered the case, "declare their indulgence at an end, and the same to be void and null; and discharged them, or any of them, to exercise any part of the ministerial function within this kingdom, and committed them to prison in the Tolbooth of Glasgow, until they find caution each of them, under the penalty of 5000 merks, not to preach or exercise any part of the ministerial office, or otherwise to depart out of his Majesty's three kingdoms, not to return without allowance from the King or Council under the said penalty."*

On the 9th of October, order is granted to Captain Cleland to send these nine ministers to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh with a party of twenty-five dragoons, and the Magistrates of Edinburgh are ordered to receive and detain them prisoners. But all of them "having found sufficient caution, each under the penalty of 5000 merks Scots money, to enter themselves prisoners within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, upon Tuesday next, being the 15th instant; and that in the mean time they shall not preach nor exercise any part of the ministerial office, under the said penalty for each of them; the Lords, at their meeting of the 10th, order them to be set at liberty on these terms."†

In fulfilment of this engagement, Greig, and the other ministers, went to Edinburgh, and surrendering

* Minutes of Council at Glasgow in Warrants of Privy Council.

† Ibid. It was at this time determined upon by the Council to eject all the indulged ministers from their charges, "because they kept not their instructions, and some of them did not keep the thanksgiving in September last year;" and either oblige them to promise not to preach or to engage to leave the kingdom. Wodrow's History, vol. iv. p. 40.

themselves prisoners, were confined in the Tolbooth for some time. "They kept their day," says Walker, "and came to the Parliament Close. They were ordered by a macer to go to the Tolbooth. There came a great cloud of them and called at the outer gate, which I was a witness to, being then prisoner; they got access, where they continued until we were sent unto Dunnotar castle." The same writer adds, "Their courage in that house was very stumbling, voluntarily leaving their rooms, coming to the common hall and hearing the curates every Sabbath, to the great offence of many suffering people there; upon that head giving occasion to the wicked to mock all such. And after Mr Shields' fainting before the enemy, for which there was much grief upon his spirit, so that he was in danger of a fever, he was advised to take blood; when it was doing, they said with loud laughter among them, 'Take more, there is abundance of wild blood in his veins, and much of it in this house—there being many who have need to open a vein;' and many other offensive speeches, which I was witness to. At last they all bound themselves to walk orderly, and live peaceably, and keep their parish kirks, and never preach more without a licence from the supreme magistrate. Some few of them were sent to the Bass, as Mr Peter Kid, and Mr John Greig, for refusing this. What became of them afterwards I know not."*

* Biograph. Presb. vol. i. pp. 304, 305. Wodrow names several others who refused to engage not to preach. History, vol. iv. p. 41. In reading the above quotations, it is to be remembered, that at this time the differences among the Presbyterians, with respect to the indulgence, the hearing of the curates, and other points, had risen to a great height, and created much bitterness of feeling. Walker adhered to the stricter party, and felt for the indulged ministers the greatest contempt, which he is at no pains to conceal, and which colours all that he says about them. In another place he speaks of them as "Balaam-like, looking greedily over the steep

Greig's imprisonment in the Bass took place in the month of May 1685, and he was confined there upwards of a year. Being now at an advanced period of life, his imprisonment much impaired his health. In the month of July 1686, he presented a petition to the Privy Council, in which, after stating the length of time during which he had been prisoner in the Bass, and that he was become "very scorbutic and sickly, so that his life was in great danger," he prays that their Lordships would be pleased to grant warrant for his liberation. The Council, on the 15th of July, having heard and considered this petition, "grant warrant to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of the Bass to set the petitioner at liberty; he first finding caution, under the penalty of 5000 merks Scots money, to compear before the Council upon Tuesday next, the 20th instant, or that day to enter his person in prison within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, or Canongate, under the fore-said penalty, in case of failure."

Greig's health still continuing in a very precarious state, he again presented another petition to the Council, in which he designates himself "your poor old suppliant," and after stating that he is now ready to appear before their Lordships, and that his entering or continuing in prison any longer might endanger his life, prays that they would be pleased graciously to al-

slippery brae of backsliding, where there is no standing; and God suffering them, in holy justice, to follow their look, and headlong they went to the unfathomable depth of defection, in their embracing of the Christ-dethroning, Church-ruining, remnant-renting, zeal-quenching indulgence; where they lay in that puddle with foul hands and garments—the first of them for eighteen years, and the second for eleven years, juggling and dissembling, and keeping the unhappy birth and restoration day, and otherwise; and some of them sometimes challenged by the Council for not keeping their restrictions, injunctions, and terms upon which they got their liberty."

low him to continue at liberty "for some competent time, to use medicaments for his health, upon caution to live peaceably, and to appear before their Lordships when called." In compliance with the prayer of this petition, the Council, on the 20th of July, continue his liberty until the first Council day in November next, upon his finding caution to appear before them that day, and in the mean time to live peaceably,* under the penalty of 5000 merks in case of failure.

Greig appearing before the Council at their meeting of the 4th of November, his former liberty is continued, upon caution, as before, to compear again upon the 18th ; on which day the Council continue the liberty formerly granted him, "until the 20th day of January next, in regard of his present appearance, upon his finding sufficient caution enacted in their books to compear the said day, under the penalty of 5000 merks Scots money, in case of failure." This is the last instance in which Greig's name is to be found in the Records of the Privy Council. How long he survived, and the particulars of his future history, we have not been able to discover.

* In the dialect of the Privy Council, for a minister "to live peaceably or orderly," was to refrain from preaching, and to be a regular hearer in the parish kirk where he resided ; and for the people to do so, was to refrain from attending conventicles, and to attend their parish kirk.

THOMAS ROSS.

THOMAS ROSS was settled in a parish in the north before the Restoration of Charles II., but in what particular parish is uncertain.* He continued at his charge

* In the roll of the nonconforming ministers ejected after the Restoration, Ross's name appears among the nonconformists of the Presbytery of Dingwall. Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 329. Wodrow elsewhere calls him "minister of Kincardine," in Ross. Ibid. vol. iii. p. 437. His only authority probably is Fraser of Brea, who, in the Dedication of his Memoirs of himself to Ross, so styles him. But Fraser appears merely to designate the place of his abode; for he wrote these memoirs when about thirty years of age, or in 1669, (see Select Biographies, edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. pp. 89, 228), and at that time Ross held no parochial charge, having been ejected some years previously. That Ross was then residing at Kincardine is confirmed by a sentence in Mrs Ross's memoirs of herself, who, writing about that time, says, "I was put to pray for Mr Thomas Ross his coming to the country of Murray on the fore-mentioned account, and was pressed to go over to Ross, where he then lived," p. 33. If he was minister of Kincardine, it must have been between 1653 and 1665, as in 1653 a Mr John Forbes was minister of that parish; and in 1665, a Mr George Burnet was its minister. Selections from the Registers of the Synod of Aberdeen, printed for the Spalding Club, pp. 225, 279. A Mr Thomas Ross was at that period minister of Aboyne, in the Presbytery of Kincardine. His name appears as minister of that parish in 1652; but he conformed to the system established at the Restoration, and appears as minister of Aboyne down to 1675, and may have been minister there much longer, as there is no register roll of the Synod after 1660, and he is only occasionally mentioned among the list of "absents." There is, therefore, not the least probability that he is the same person with the subject of our notice; and there is no doubt that he was flourishing on Deeside, at the time when his namesake was cooped up in the Bass. These facts from the MS. Records of the Synod of Aberdeen, have been obligingly communicated by John Stuart, Esq. Aberdeen.

some time after the establishment of Prelacy, and owed his leaving it to an interview with Mr John M'Gilligen, an eminent minister of the north, whom we shall shortly introduce to our readers.* He is also said to have been strengthened and established in grace and in the ways of God by means of Mr Thomas Hog, minister of Kiltarn.†

About 1669 Ross came over from the county of Ross, where he then lived, to Murrayshire, and continued there for some years preaching the gospel with no small measure of success ; as we learn from the diary of Mrs Ross, a woman of eminent piety, who was then living at Oldern. "I had at that time," she observes, "several answers of prayer and fulfilling of expectations. He set me a-work, particularly to pray for the gospel coming to that country by Mr Thomas Ross's ministry. Some time after, the Lord brought him to that place, and great was the blessing he proved to it ; for the Lord made him the means of converting that eminent worthy Lady Kilravock,‡ who built a house for him on her own land, where the gospel had never been in any power. There the Lord blessed his ministry, not only for the comfort of those who had grace, and to the reforming of others ; but to the real converting of several, some of whom were a wonder for experience in the ways of God, attained to in a very short time."§

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii. p. 437.

† Life of Thomas Hog, Free Church Cheap Publications, p. 85.

‡ Mrs Ross farther speaks of this lady as "that burning and shining light, the worthy lady Kilravock, who during her short continuance, proved a great blessing to that country, by promoting the gospel, and being a companion to all those that feared God, and discountenancing all ungodliness and ungodly persons." *Memoirs of Mrs Ross*, written by herself, p. 50. Lady Kilravock died on the 20th of May 1676. *Diary of Jane Collace*, Mrs Ross's sister, among the Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxi. 8vo, no. 7.

§ *Memoirs of Mrs Ross*, p. 34.

The north of Scotland at that period was deficient in faithful ministers, and the number of the people opposed to prelacy and adhering to presbytery was small compared with those in the south and west ; but still they were more numerous in the counties of Ross and Murray than is generally supposed. Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Dickson, and others, who in the reign of James VI. had been banished to the north for their stedfast adherence to the truth, had not laboured in vain. There were also in these counties, previous to and during the reign of Charles II., besides Ross, several other excellent recusant ministers, as Mr Thomas Hog, Mr John M'Gilligen, Mr James Urquhart, and others, whose faithful and zealous ministry had been eminently blessed. These ministers, however, preached the gospel in a very quiet and unostentatious way, and appear never to have betaken themselves to the fields, the numbers who collected, from the thinly-peopled state of the country, not being so great as to render this necessary. But still, as they were zealous and persevering, opposition was created. This particularly appeared in 1675. In the summer of that year, Ross, and a few others of his brethren in the ministry, having been much employed in preaching, and with no small evidences of the power of the Holy Spirit accompanying their labours, intelligence of this was communicated to the Privy Council, doubtless by the bishop of the bounds. The Council at once took up the case, and in the close of the summer, addressed a letter to the Earl of Murray, requiring him to execute the laws against the keepers of conventicles in the shire of Murray as well as in the neighbouring places, and to report.* Steps being immediately taken to carry this order into exe-

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 284.

cution, Ross was apprehended, dragged from his home and family, and imprisoned in the tolbooth of Nairn, there to expiate, not the crime of teaching seditious doctrine, or creating popular irritation and tumult, but the crime of having taught his countrymen, "to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world," for so entirely demented, was the government of Charles II., that they accounted and punished such teaching as a crime.* Here this faithful and pious minister would have soon ended his days, had he not been removed to a less unwholesome prison. In such a wretched state was the tolbooth of Nairn, not even affording shelter from the inclemency of the weather, that it would have endangered the life of any man, and much more the life of a man like Ross, who was of a feeble and delicate constitution. Feeling that confinement in such a place, and especially at that season of the year, it being then winter, would soon destroy his health and bring him to the grave, he presented a petition to the Privy Council, "bearing that he being apprehended and imprisoned in the tolbooth of the burgh of Nairn, by virtue of an order direct from the Lords of Council, and seeing the tolbooth of the said burgh is very insufficient, and not able, for want of roof and repairing, to shelter him from the rains and storm, he being a sickly and tender person is in hazard of his life, except the Council were favourably pleased to give order for his liberty,

* Jane Collace, writing about the beginning of October 1675, says in her Diary, "On the Lord's day in the morning, I was much pressed in my mind (notwithstanding of my frailty) to go to the old town of Kilravock and hear sermon, where I met with the Lord therein with power and presence, enlightening, enlivening, and strengthening my soul, both as to my own case and the Church's condition in these lands, which was sent to me as furniture for a sad storm I was to meet with, for on the morrow we got the sad news that this minister, Mr Thomas Ross, was apprehended by the enemy, which proved a sore trial to me."

humbly therefore supplicating that order and warrant might be granted to that effect." In answer to the prayer of this petition, the Lords of Council recommend to the Earl of Murray "to change the place of the petitioner's imprisonment from the tolbooth of Nairn to the tolbooth of Tain in Inverness, or to set him at liberty upon sufficient caution to compear and answer before the Council when he shall be called, as the said Earl shall think most fit." Upon this, the Earl of Murray ordered him to be carried to the tolbooth of Tain, as we are informed by a pious female who lived at that period. "The next week," says she, "I was trysted with that sharp providence of the removal of the Lord's faithful servant Mr Thomas Ross, Jan. 15, 1676, from his prison at this place to the tolbooth of Tain, I being witness at his removal." She adds, "The next week the Lord comforted my heart, and all of us, in the answer of prayer concerning his faithful servant Mr Thomas Ross, his obtaining from his keepers some more freedom in prison by the mercy of our merciful God. Glory to his name!" Here he continued at least till the end of May 1676, and probably longer; for the same writer speaks of a letter he wrote at that time from the place of his confinement, in reference to the death of Lady Kilravock.* According to Wodrow, he was subsequently to this imprisoned in the Bass. After referring to the above act of Council, this historian says, but upon what authority he does not inform us, "I have no more about him, only he was brought to the Bass, and continued some time there with others of his brethren."† This is our only authority for including Ross among the prisoners of the Bass. In the re-

* Diary of Jane Collace.

† Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 236.

cords of the proceedings of the Privy Council, we have not met with any act sentencing him to be imprisoned there, nor with any allusion corroborating Wodrow's statement. He may, however, have been sent thither by a committee of Council whose proceedings have not been recorded. We again find him a prisoner in the tolbooth of Tain in October 1677, but how long he had lain there previous to that date is uncertain. On petitioning the Council, he was ordained to be set at liberty, at their meeting on the 9th of October that year, by the following act:—"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council having considered the petition of Mr Thomas Ross, prisoner in Tain, desiring liberty, do ordain him to be set at liberty, he finding caution, under the pain of two thousand merks Scots, to re-enter himself in prison when he shall be called, and that in the mean time he shall live orderly, in obedience to law, under the pain foresaid."

The harsh treatment which Ross had experienced, could not fail to impair the health of one of so delicate a frame ; and he did not survive his release much above a year.* In 1678, he was severely afflicted by long continued pain of the throat, which kept him from speaking in his family, or even from asking a blessing on his food, for several months. This was followed by the fever of which he died, in the beginning of the year 1679. From the commencement of his sickness he believed that it would issue in death ; and during the whole time of it, reposing with unshaken confidence in the mercy of God through Christ, his hopes

* The editor of the first edition of Mr James Fraser of Brea's *Memoirs of himself*, speaking of Ross's imprisonment at Tain, affirms that he "died there in prison or soon thereafter." *Select Biographies*, edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 83. It is, however, certain that Ross did not die in the prison of Tain, but in the bosom of his own family.

of heaven were unclouded. Some of the expressions which he then uttered have been preserved, being written down after his death by some of his servants who were present, and deserve to be recorded, as affording a proof of the efficacy of the gospel in supporting and tranquillising the soul in the most trying of all circumstances—in the immediate prospect of death and eternity.

Between Monday and Tuesday, the 7th of January 1679, he plainly told his friends that he was dying, and gave directions how, upon that event, things should be conducted, and earnestly exhorted all about him to prepare for death when in health. “You will assuredly find it work enough by itself to die,” said he, “although you have nothing else to do, which few have ; for ordinarily death has many other troubles trysted with it, as trouble of mind and sickness of body, and such like, and then Satan is busiest in assaulting people. But, for myself,” he added, “I bless God who through his grace has enabled me so to spend my time, as that now there is nothing to do, for all things are done through Christ my Lord ; and now the only thing I am concerned with is to be carried through to the end which He has promised who is my God, and therefore it is the duty of every one of you to give me up heartily to him, and to seek also that the Lord may hasten his coming, when he and I and all his people shall meet, and never part again.”

On Thursday, his weakness confining him to his bed, and his family standing by him weeping, he endeavoured to comfort them,—“O weep not, for our God lives, and this is the comfort of all his people, and so your comfort also.” He then said to those present, his sufferings being great, “O, sirs, you may wonder

that I am so sorely afflicted, but glory, glory to God, I take it not as a token of his displeasure, but rather as a token of love to my soul, and the greater that the trouble is, the greater shall be the future joy." Again, addressing his family, he said, " I have been at pains with you to get you advanced to the highest kingdom, since God trysted you and me together. O then, keep near, keep near Christ, and grip him fast, for assuredly there are evil days coming, when you shall meet with many temptations ; but grip Christ fast, and then you shall not need to fear, and be preparing for all kind of trouble before it come, lest it be a surprise when it comes, for there are very evil days coming that none is like to bide out, save those that have real grace. But I will go off with the faith of it, that Christ shall have a glorious day in Scotland yet."

On another occasion, a friend inquiring how he did, he replied, " I am poor and needy, but glory to Him, he thinks upon me : he is pleading for me : I thirst for that inheritance he hath purchased, which is abiding me and all his." His wife asking him if he was getting much of God, he answered, " I am getting as much of him as keeps me up in the hope of that everlasting inheritance, in being with God when time shall be no more. And I have his word for it, that he shall be with me in going through the vale of the shadow of death." He added, " I am persuaded, and my soul has been triumphing these three years bypast in seeing that the delivery of the Church and people of God is coming." And a little after, he exclaimed, " Glory, glory, glory and praise be to my God, and to my Lord, and to my King, for thou hast given me the shield of thy salvation, and still upholdest me by thy right hand, and thy gentleness hath made me great, and thou art to

me the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." When one inquired how he did, he said, "My God that hath been with me all my days, does not, and will not leave me now, he having made with me an everlasting covenant, well ordered in all things and sure, and I have subscribed heartily to it; and although I be lingering here a little while, yet my Redeemer is near at hand, and soon I shall see him as he is; and O how glorious will that sight be to me when I shall get Christ's bosom to be my dwelling-place! O then, sirs, my light shall not admit a darkness any more, nor my morning a night!" Being asked if he would take a drink, he said, "Ere long, I shall be drinking of the water of the river of life, and of that refreshing river that runs beneath the throne of God." He then exhorted those present to labour diligently to obtain an interest in God now, and they also would drink of the same river. On Monday the 13th, the last day he spent on earth, two of his relatives having visited him, and one of them expressing their hope that God would prepare him for his journey, he answered, "I assure you there is neither rock nor mountain between me and Christ;" and when they had gone out, he was heard to say, "Let the devil and the world do what they will, I have overcome, I have overcome through Christ my Lord." The last words he uttered were, "My king Jesus is near at hand now—my king Jesus is near at hand now;" and shortly after respiration ceased, and the spirit entered into rest. He died on the 13th of January 1679, between ten and eleven o'clock at night.*

* Wodrow MSS. vol. xcix. 4to, no. 31.

ALEXANDER FORRESTER.

ALEXANDER FORRESTER* was minister of St Mungo.† Only a few particulars of his history are now known. In 1676, he was apprehended in Fife for being at field conventicles, and imprisoned in St Andrews. His case having come before the Committee of the Privy Council for Public Affairs, they ordained that he should be transported to the Bass; and the report of their procedure being made to the Council on the 3d of August 1676, it was approved. Not long after he was set at liberty, upon finding security to appear before the Committee. Appearing before them, as he had engaged, about the beginning of February next year, he was examined regarding the field conventicles, for the keeping of which he was apprehended, and in reference to some papers found upon him, which were produced before the Committee. These papers were the minutes of a meeting of outed ministers, of which he was clerk, held at Edinburgh between two and three months before his apprehension. Some account is given of this meeting in the report of the Committee of Council concerning his examination, given in to the Council on the 8th of February 1677, which is as follows —

* Wodrow by mistake calls him Andrew. History, vol. ii. p. 355.

† Crichton's Memoirs of John Blackadder, p. 343.

“ Mr Alexander Forrester, who was formerly prisoner in the Bass, being taken in Fife for keeping field conventicles ; who was thereafter set at liberty, upon caution to appear before the Committee : he being called and examined thereupon, and concerning some papers which were taken upon him when he was apprehended, which were produced before the Committee ; by which papers it appears, that upon the 24th of May 1676, there did convene within Edinburgh betwixt fifty and three-score outed ministers, who did constitute themselves in form of a Commission of the Kirk, leeted and voted their moderator, appointed a committee of ten of their number at their first meeting to prepare overtures ; who, accordingly after the dissolving of the meeting, did convene that same night, and did condescend upon, prepare, and agree to the draft of a petition and overtures of a most seditious nature, to be offered to their meeting ; in which they condescend upon ways for settling and keeping a correspondence in the several societies and synods established by them, and for entering into and sending out young men into the ministry in their several societies and bounds, and for one synod’s corresponding with another, and for providing against any offer from the State in order to Church affairs, without advertisement given to and consent of the several societies, and for correspondence with gentlemen and judicious elders ; which overtures being, upon the said 25th of May, presented to the great meeting, the same were voted and approven. Which papers, containing the said petition and overtures, with another paper, bearing the leeting and voting of the moderator, and what votes every particular minister had, and the minutes of what passed at these meetings, being found upon the said Mr Alexander Forrester when he was apprehended, and being presented to him at his examination, he confessed that the said minutes were in his own handwriting, and that he was present at these meetings, and that he was elected and did officiate as clerk ; and confessed they did choose a preses ; and being interrogate who was the person that was chosen preses, or in what house or place in Edinburgh the said meetings were kept, and who were present at

the same, and other circumstances relating to the discovery thereof, the said Mr Alexander refused to declare any thing thereanent: whereupon the Committee thought fit to order him to be kept close prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, until the Council should consider farther of the said matter."

Of the meeting, described in this report, we have elsewhere met with no account; and although from the report we may form some idea of its nature, yet it is evidently misrepresented. That these ministers "constituted themselves in form of a Commission of the Kirk" is very doubtful, this being, it is probable, merely the interpretation put upon the character of the meeting by the Committee of Council; for the design of all the general meetings held by the Presbyterian ministers during the persecution, of which we have any distinct information, was professedly for nothing more than consultation, and the strengthening of one another's hands; and they declined to take to themselves judicial power or authority, although they were blamed for assuming such power, some things which they did being considered as amounting to an exercise of it.* What the petition and overtures which they prepared and agreed to were, can only be conjectured. They are described as "of a most seditious nature;" but as this was the customary language applied by the government to all the measures to which the Presbyterians had recourse for obtaining relief from the hardships under which they laboured, it may be fairly enough concluded, in the absence of all evidence, that they contained nothing inconsistent with loyalty to their sovereign, or calculated to create turbulence in the State. The great objects aimed at obviously were, to establish a general correspondence among the Presbyterians throughout

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 346, 356.

the country, that they might act in concert in adopting such measures as seemed for the good of the general body ; and to provide for the licensing of young men to preach the gospel, the number of ministers being but few compared with the urgent demand for the faithful preaching of the word.

The Council having heard and considered the above report of their Committee, " approved of their proceedings, and ordained Mr Forrester to be kept prisoner in a chamber by himself, that no person have access to him except with meat or drink, and that he be not allowed the use of pen, ink, or paper ; and an order to be delivered to the keeper of the tolbooth to that effect." How long Forrester was detained in prison, and what became of him afterwards, we have not discovered.

WILLIAM BELL.

WILLIAM BELL was distinguished, during the persecution, as a field preacher. He is mentioned by a contemporary as one of those recusant ministers who, after the suppression of the rising at Pentland, when they were "driven to hiding places and secret corners," "went out and preached by night and by day in great peril of their lives and liberties."* In this work he persevered for a considerable time without falling into the hands of the enemy. But he was at length apprehended on the 4th of September 1676, by a party of soldiers at a field meeting, held on that day at Pentland Hills, where he had been preaching; for at this time soldiers were scouring different parts of the country to put down conventicles,—a work in which they displayed so great zeal, that wherever they found any whom they were pleased to reckon haunters of conventicles, they imprisoned, harassed, robbed, and wounded them without control.† A number of the hearers were also seized, and all of them were carried prisoners to Edinburgh. In coming up the West Bow, an attempt was made to rescue them from the military by some of their friends; but this attempt proving unsuccessful, they

* Reid's Memoirs of himself, p. 26.

† Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 317.

were all securely imprisoned, two of them, Mr Bell and Robert Dick, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and the others in that of the Canongate.

On the 10th of October, the case of these prisoners came before the Lords of Council, who "recommended to the Committee for Public Affairs to examine the persons taken at a conventicle kept at Pentland Hills the 4th of September last, and to take trial and inquiry anent the persons who deforced the party in their coming up the West Bow of Edinburgh with the prisoners, and that a citation be given to Mr William Bell and Robert Dick, prisoners, for being at the said conventicle."

Bell having preached at the meeting, and Dick having convocated the people to it, were, according to the persecuting edicts then in force, the chief offenders; for by the fifth act of the second session of the second Parliament of Charles II., 1670, it is statute and ordained, "that whosoever without licence or authority shall preach, expound scripture, or pray at any meetings in the field, or in any house where there are more persons than the house contains, so that some of them are without doors (which is declared to be a house conventicle), or who shall convocate any number of people to these meetings, shall be punished with death, and confiscation of their goods."* Their case was accordingly first disposed of. On the 12th of October, a libel was presented, at the instance of his Majesty's Advocate, to the Council against Bell and Dick, "prisoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, for being present at several house and field conventicles since the 25th March 1674, and particularly at a field conventicle kept at Pentland Hills in September last, at which the

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 169.

said Mr William Bell did take upon him to preach and exercise the other functions of the ministry, and the said Robert Dick did convocate the people thereto." Bell acknowledged that he prayed and lectured at the said conventicle, but refused to give oath if he was present at any other similar meetings, and Dick confessed that he was present at it. The Council having considered the libel and the confession of the prisoners, ordained both of them "to be carried to-morrow morning by a party of his Majesty's troop of guards from the tolbooth of Edinburgh to the Isle of Bass, to remain prisoners there until the Council consider what further punishment shall be inflicted on them, and give order to the Earl of Kinghorn to command such a number of his Majesty's troop of guards as he shall think fit to receive and convey the said prisoners to the said isle, ordaining the commander of the garrison to receive and detain them prisoners until farther order."

The Magistrates of Edinburgh had been ordered by the Council to inquire into the attempt made to release the prisoners taken at the Pentland Hills' field meeting, on their entering Edinburgh; and on the 9th of November, they gave in a report of their diligence in this matter. Their report is remitted to the Committee for Public Affairs, which is appointed to meet "to-morrow in the afternoon, for the transaction of that and other similar business."

The Magistrates being called by the Committee to give an account of their diligence in the trial of the above disorder, represented that they had examined many witnesses, a copy of whose depositions they had given in to the clerks of Council. The Lords of Council, on receiving this report from their Committee on the 16th of November, express their approbation of

the Magistrates as having done their duty. At the same meeting, the libel raised at the instance of his Majesty's Advocate against the prisoners in the Canongate, for being at the conventicle held at Pentland Hills, came under consideration, and it was remitted to Lord Collington to call them before him and set them at liberty, upon their giving bond or other assurance to his satisfaction, that they should not go to any house or field conventicles in future.

Bell continued in the Bass for the period of nearly three years, enduring many privations and hardships. The prisoners were obliged to support themselves, which many of them, on account of their poverty, did with great difficulty ; and such as were altogether unable to provide for their own subsistence, received a scanty supply from the government. Bell being poor, was under the necessity of supplicating the Council, about a year after his imprisonment, either that he might be liberated, or have some maintenance allowed him. In answer to his petition, the Council, on the 5th of October 1677, recommend to the Lord Commissioner of the Treasury to allow him somewhat for his aliment during the period of his confinement. Bell had indeed some alleviations to the grievousness of his condition. He generally enjoyed the society of fellow-prisoners, both ministers and others, who were suffering in the same cause, and among whom the greatest harmony prevailed. He had, for the most part, liberty granted him of going up the hill to breathe the fresh air, and beguile the weary hours of his captivity, by such prospects as the ocean, or the adjacent coast, presented to please the eye or arrest the attention. His heart was cheered by occasional visits of friends, who, taking a deep interest in him and his brethren in the same tribulation,

came from Edinburgh and other places to see them. He was allowed to preach the gospel to his fellow-prisoners, and to hear it preached by such of them as were ministers. But notwithstanding these mitigating circumstances, his condition, and that of his fellow-prisoners, was abundantly distressing. Their victuals were often bad, and purchased at an extravagant cost, as they were obliged to take them from the governor at his own price. Sometimes their whole fare consisted of a scanty supply of dried fish ; and in stormy weather, from the difficulty of approaching the island, the boat which brought their provisions from the shore being detained, they were in some instances almost reduced to starvation. There being no spring on the rock, they also suffered much from the want of water. The way in which they obtained this important element, was by collecting the rain which fell from the clouds in cavities ; and in winter and spring they procured it by melting snow. Such water soon becoming putrid and disagreeable, they used to sprinkle it with oat-meal to render it in some degree palatable. Nor could they obtain any thing better, without paying an exorbitant price. " They were obliged to drink the twopenny ale of the governor's brewing, scarcely worth a halfpenny the pint." In addition to this, they were removed from the society of beloved relatives and friends, so comforting and encouraging in these times of persecution ; and were surrounded and coming into constant contact with the governor and soldiers of the garrison, from whose rudeness, barbarity, and impiety, they suffered much. The servants whom they had themselves procure were often dismissed, apparently without any other reason but to annoy them, and they were obliged to hire other servants of whose character they were

ignorant. They had difficulty in obtaining female servants, for women of a respectable character were unwilling to engage, from the licentiousness of the soldiers, who, in some instances, were offered rewards by their unprincipled officers, to debauch the females, with the wicked design of calumniating, by indirect insinuations, the character of the prisoners. At last, they were precluded from preaching, or unitedly worshipping God, and even from eating together, by which the expence of their maintenance was increased, while they were deprived of a source of much comfort, as well as of spiritual improvement. The letters which came to them from their relatives and friends, and those which they sent ashore, were frequently opened and read by those to whom they were intrusted, though they had no orders from the Council to that effect. When it suited the humour of their governors, they were made close prisoners, each shut up in a gloomy dungeon by himself, and kept in this desolate state as long as their caprice dictated. This was indeed done, not only without, but contrary to, the sentence of the Council, which had committed them "free prisoners," or such as had the liberty of the rock ; but the governors, if not invested with irresponsible power, exercised it with impunity, the helpless captives being without redress from a government which would have lent a deaf ear to their complaints. Their hearts were lacerated by the blasphemy of the governors and officers, who, so far from treating them with humanity and courtesy, sometimes intruded into their company for the cruel purpose of wounding their feelings by profanity, and at other times, of leading them artfully and insidiously into the expression of sentiments on public matters then accounted seditious. To those of them who were minis-

ters laid aside from the public exercise of their ministry, and especially to such of them as, like Bell, had preached in the fields, and who could no longer address the vast assemblages which collected at such meetings, this confinement would be more deeply distressing than can well be conceived. They would look back with regret to those days and nights, full of peril though they were, in which they proclaimed the unsearchable riches of Christ to the multitudes that hung upon their lips.*

Such were some of the privations and hardships which Bell had to suffer while a prisoner on the Bass. After lying on this desolate rock for nearly three years, an event occurred which led him and his fellow-prisoners to anticipate still greater sufferings, and which even excited apprehensions that their lives might be sacrificed to appease the wrath of the government. In 1679, the Covenanters, to shake off the yoke of oppression, rose up in arms at Bothwell Bridge ; but this premature, ill-concerted, and still worse-conducted attempt, having been defeated by the king's forces, the rage of their persecutors becoming more fierce, all who belonged to the Presbyterian body had reason to dread the effects of their exasperated fury. Their fears were, however, disappointed. The king, with the view of allaying discontent, and restoring tranquillity to the distracted country, was induced to grant an indemnity and indulgence, called the Third Indulgence,† and at the same time to give orders, by a letter to the Council, dated 11th July 1679, that the ministers then impri-

* For this account of the state of the prisoners on the Bass, during the time of Bell's confinement there, we are indebted to Fraser of Brea, who was his fellow-prisoner.—Fraser's *Memoirs in Select Biographies*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. pp. 347, 348.

† This third indulgence extended to all non-conforming Presbyterian ministers, with the exception of those who had been at Bothwell Bridge. It

soned, who had not been accessory to "the rebellion," as it was called, or who had been imprisoned merely for non-conformity, should be set at liberty, "without any other engagement, but that they shall live peaceably, and not take up arms against us, or our authority, or find caution to answer when called on by us or you." Upon this Bell and seven other prisoners were taken out of the Bass, and carried to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, that the Council might give them an opportunity of taking the bond to live peaceably, and not to lift up arms against the king or his authority. The act of Council in reference to this is as follows:—

"Edinburgh, 19th July 1679.

"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, do hereby give warrant to General Dalziel, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces, to order such a party of his Majesty's forces as he shall think fit to transport the persons underwritten, prisoners from the Isle of the Bass to the tolbooth of Edinburgh,

was less clogged than the two preceding indulgences. Field-meetings were prohibited under the same penalties as before, but meetings for divine worship in private houses were allowed. Only one minister was allowed to each parish; and such parishes as wished a minister were required to petition the Privy Council, and also to give security by their bond, that he would keep the public peace, or live peaceably, under the penalty of 500 merks, to be paid by the cautioners in case of failure. "This," says Blackadder, "is commonly called the Third or bonded indulgence; the worst of the three, for ministers embracing this way did formally bring their ministry under bonds, as is clearly made out at length in that paper called 'The Bandes Disbanded.'"—Blackadder's Memoirs MS., Wodrow MSS. vol. xcvi. This indulgence, says Wodrow, "was much owing to the present struggle for liberty in England, and the just information the Duke of Monmouth gave the king of the good inclinations and intentions of the body of Presbyterians in Scotland to his person and government." But a change having taken place in the government within the course of a few weeks, the Duke of Monmouth being removed from the king's council, and the Duke of York's party succeeding, the moderate measures contemplated for the Presbyterians were crushed; restrictions were first imposed on the indulgence, and, before the end of the year, it was completely removed.—Wodrow's History, vol. iii. pp. 147–157.

viz., Mr Patrick Anderson, James Fraser of Brea, Mr Thomas Hog, Mr John M·Gilligen, Mr John Macaulay, Mr Robert Ross, Mr John Law, and Mr William Bell; ordaining hereby the Governor of the said Isle of Bass to deliver the said persons to the said party, and the Magistrates of Edinburgh to receive and detain them in prison till further order.”*

Bell and the other ministers, great as had been the sufferings of their captivity, were not however inclined to purchase liberty by a dishonourable compromise of principle, and knowing that the king's letter allowed them to adopt one of two courses, either to engage to live peaceably, that is to forbear preaching in the field, and not to rise up in arms, or to give security to appear when called, refused to comply with the first alternative, but expressed their readiness to comply with the terms of the second. The Council upon this, contrary to the king's letter, sent them back to prison; but afterwards set them all at liberty, upon their granting bond to appear when called under the penalty of a certain sum for each.† Thus they obtained their liberty without making any unworthy compliance.

Bell, though he did not join with the party of Cameron, appears never to have accepted of the indulgence. Whether after his liberation he preached in the field is uncertain, for so hot did the persecution become in consequence of the insurrection at Bothwell Bridge against such as preached in the fields, that nearly all who had formerly practised this, confined their ministry to private houses.‡ It is however probable, that he lived a wandering and unsettled life, preaching the gospel as

* Decree of Privy Council. Wodrow's History, vol. iii. pp. 152, 153.

† Wodrow's History, vol. iii. p. 153. Fraser's Memoirs in Select Biographies printed for Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 349.

‡ When Richard Cameron returned to Scotland from Holland in the beginning of the year 1680, none of the ministers would venture with him

he found opportunity,* until the close of the year 1680, when he was apprehended at a conventicle held in Edinburgh and thrown into prison. Shortly after his imprisonment, he petitioned the Council for being set at liberty, and this he might have obtained had he promised to refrain from conventicles in time to come ; but refusing to come under any such engagement, it was remitted to the Committee of Council for Public Affairs, to consider where he should be confined prisoner. The Committee agreed that he should be sent to Blackness, another horrible dungeon, where many of our suffering ancestors languished for years in the endurance of much privation and hardship.

How long he remained in this place of confinement is uncertain ; but after again enjoying liberty, he employed himself as before, in the face of danger and suffering, to which he had been so long inured that they had become familiar to him. The last notice of him which we have met with is in a letter addressed to Mr

to the fields except Mr Donald Cargil. Mr John Blackadder, however, though he did not join with Cameron, not agreeing with him in considering the acceptance of the indulgence a warrantable ground of separation, though he would rather have sacrificed his life than have accepted it himself, continued fearlessly to preach in the fields till he was apprehended and imprisoned in the Bass in April 1681. Mr John Welsh, so celebrated as a field preacher, went to London after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, " when," says Kirkton, " all forsook field meetings," and there died on the 9th of January 1681. Kirkton's History, p. 220. Mr Archibald Riddell, the coadjutor of Blackadder and Welsh, when examined before a Committee of the Privy Council in October 1680, admitted that he had not preached in the fields since the indemnity published after Bothwell Bridge, but refused to come under an engagement not to preach in the fields. He, however, admitted that he had not preached in such a public manner since the indemnity ; and he was prevented from doing so in future, for after being kept in prison at Edinburgh for some months, he was sent to the Bass, where he continued three years and a half, and then had to leave the country. Wodrow's History, vol. iii. pp. 198, 202.

* Register of Acts of Privy Council from Wodrow's Notes, December 9. 1680, among the Wodrow MSS. vol. xliv. 8vo.

Colin M'Kenzie, clerk of the Privy Council, in the beginning of the year 1688 :—

“ SIR,—Since my last, we have had only two fanatic preachers, one Mr William Bell, who preached at Houlatstown, and one Mr James Drummond at the Lady ——’s malt-barn. The offering is so small they are not able to feed upon it, so I hope we shall be quit of them. My service and wife’s to your lady. I rest, your humble servant,
BORTHWICK.”*

“ *Stow, Feb. 1. 1688.*”

The future history of Bell is unknown. These few gleanings concerning him are highly honourable to the consistency, stedfastness, and intrepidity of his character. In the execution of his high commission as a minister of Christ under the persecuted banner of Presbytery, he braved contumely, poverty, the dungeon, and death, and deserves to occupy a place among those of our Scottish worthies who were most faithful and uncompromising in resisting the claims of the Crown to absolute power in spiritual matters, and in practically asserting the paramount claims of duty to God and faithfulness to conscience.

* Warrants of Privy Council.

ROBERT DICK.

ROBERT DICK, who was a merchant, and “salt-grieve”* to Lord Carrington, has been introduced to our notice in the preceding Life. We have seen that he was apprehended at a conventicle held at Pentland Hills on the 4th of September 1676, carried prisoner to Edinburgh, and lodged in the tolbooth.

Being brought before the Lords of Privy Council on the 12th of October, he is charged, in the letters raised against him at the instance of Sir George M’Kenzie, of Rosehaugh, his Majesty’s Advocate, with being present at house and field conventicles kept at Caldermuir Drum, Stirling Muir, Kirkliston, Borthwick, Edmonston Chapel, Wolnett, Corstorphine, Torwood, Gladsmuir, Dunbar, Whitehill, Eastbarns, Broxburn, Newtonlies, and diverse other places, and particularly for being at the conventicle kept at Pentland Hills, above referred to, and for *convocating* the people “to these disorderly and seditious meetings,” which last was then a capital offence.†

Dick acknowledged that he was present at the conventicle at Pentland Hills; and this confession made

* *Salt-grieve*, that is, inspector of salt-works.

† Register of Acts of Privy Council, October 12. 1676; Decrets of Privy Council, September 13. 1678.

him liable to a fine of 25 pounds Scots, according to the fifth act of the second session of the second Parliament, 1670, by which it is statute and enacted, "that every person who shall be found to have been present at such meetings, shall be fined according to his quality, each tenant labouring lands in 25 pounds Scots, each cottar in 12 pounds Scots; and where merchants or tradesmen do not belong to or reside within burghs-royal, that each merchant or chief tradesman be fined as a tenant, and each inferior tradesman as a cottar." He however, wisely refused to depone upon oath whether he was present at any other conventicles, for the Council had no right to force him to become his own accuser. The *onus probandi*, or obligation of adducing evidence, rested with those who brought the charge against him. Such is the rule of procedure dictated by justice, as well as observed in all civilized nations; but the practice of that iniquitous government was the very reverse. When the Presbyterians were summoned before it for conventicles or nonconformity, instead of proceeding according to the forms of judicial inquiry, by calling and examining witnesses, it required them to give their oath whether the accusations brought against them were true or not, and if they refused to do so, guilt was presumed, and upon that presumption punishment was inflicted. Dick refusing to give his oath, whether he was present at any other conventicle beside that of Pentland Hills, his refusal was considered equivalent to a confession of guilt; and, accordingly, the Council ordained him to be carried by a party of his Majesty's troop of guards to the Isle of the Bass, to remain prisoner there until they should consider what farther punishment should be inflicted upon him.

Here Dick continued prisoner till the month of Sep-

tember 1678, when he was charged to compear personally, and hear and see such farther censure and punishment inflicted upon him, for his being present at the said field conventicle kept at Pentland Hills, and for refusing to depone respecting other conventicles, as the Privy Council should think, conform to the laws and acts of Parliament made thereanent. He appeared on the 13th of September, and the Council "having again heard and considered the foresaid libel, and Robert Dick, the defender, having in their presence refused to declare or depone as to his being present at the conventicle foresaid, or concerning other persons who were present at the same, did, conform to the act of Parliament,* banish him to the plantations, and ordain him to continue in prison till an opportunity should offer for his transportation." Here we lose sight of our martyr: it is highly probable that he was doomed to end his days in slavery; and he may be numbered with those who died in prison and banishment, but of whom Defoe has observed, "Nor could any roll of their names be preserved in those times of confusion any where but under the altar, and about the throne of the Lamb."

* The act of Parliament according to which sentence of banishment was pronounced upon Dick, was the "act anent deponing," passed in August 1670. It ordained, that such as refused to take an oath, called the oath of discovery, that they would discover what they knew of "any conventicles, or other unlawful meetings," as the names of the minister and others present at them, when so "called by his Majesty's Privy Council, or any others having authority from his Majesty," should be punished by "fining and close imprisonment or banishment, by sending them to his Majesty's plantations in the Indies, or elsewhere, as his Majesty's Council should think fit." Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 167. Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy.

JAMES FRASER OF BREA.

JAMES FRASER of Brea was born on the 29th of July 1639. His father, Sir James Fraser of Brea, was the second son of Simon, seventh Lord Lovat, by his second wife Jane Stewart, daughter of James Lord Doun.* His mother too was descended of nobles. But what he considered still more honourable, both his parents feared God, and were warm friends to the second reformation cause.†

When hardly ten years of age he had the misfortune to lose his father, who died leaving behind him other six children, three of whom were younger than the subject of our notice. His father having left his worldly affairs in a very embarrassed state, the family were reduced to great straits ; they suffered much from being persecuted by creditors ; sentences in inferior and supreme courts of justice were daily passing against them ; the interest of the debts on the estate accumulated ; and their condition, which was judged good when the father was alive and at his death, was so desperate that the debts were nearly equal, if they did not exceed, the

* Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 158.

† Sir James Fraser of Brea was a member of the famous General Assembly held at Glasgow in 1638, being sent as elder from the Presbytery of Inverness. Stevenson's History, p. 277. He was also a member of several subsequent Assemblies.

value of the property.* This involved young Fraser, who retained the burdened estate, in many difficulties during the first half of his life.

Fraser having been taught to read English at home, was sent by his parents to another county to learn the Latin language, and to be under the care of a pious minister. But his father falling sick, and being apprehensive of death, sent for him to give him his dying benediction, and if he lived, to have him educated under his own inspection ; for which purpose he had engaged a pious young man to be his tutor. Soon after the death of his father, being deprived of his tutor from the in-

* Fraser's Memoirs of himself, in MS. This MS., in which he assumes the name of Philocris, and from which we frequently borrow our materials, contains many facts in reference to Fraser's personal history, which are not in the copy of his Memoirs lately published by the Wodrow Society. The causes of the embarrassed state of the father's affairs were various, such as his living above his condition ; laying out his money, not on the purchase of lands in heritage, but upon mortgage or woodset, a right which by subsequent laws of the land was rendered liable to many inconveniences and alterations ; his dealing with broken men, who were in debt to others by prior obligations, so that a great part of such of their lands as were "evicted or purchased by him, were revicted from him" by such creditors as had right anterior to his, and of which he was ignorant ; his not sufficiently securing himself in what he had purchased, from his ignorance of law, so that, in consequence of this omission, some years after his death, lands to the value of £80 *per annum*, were evicted from young Fraser ; his lending to the public £2000, for which he had the public faith, but not a farthing of which was ever recovered. But that which injured his temporal interests most was the time he spent in attending to the affairs of his brother Hugh, eighth Lord Lovat, who was very weak, and altogether unfit to guide his own affairs. And after the death of his brother, and his brother's son, the management of the estate of the grandchild, of which he was appointed the guardian, not only took up his whole time to the neglect of his own affairs, but he became engaged as guardian in great sums of money for his pupil, which young Fraser had to pay after his father's death, and only a fourth part of which was recovered. Besides, judging that he would never be called upon to pay these sums of money, for which he had thus become surety, and that what he had laid out for the public was secure, he burdened his estate with several considerable sums as provision to his other children, amounting to £2000 sterling.

ability of the family to provide one, he was often removed from one part of the country to another, and placed under very indifferent teachers. Sometimes he was kept at home, sometimes sent to another part of the north, and sometimes to the south ; so that, when learning the Latin language, he had six or seven different times changed his masters ; all of whom he describes as “ unfit for teaching children, save the last he had.” In these circumstances, it is wonderful how he could have made any progress at all in the elements of learning. But possessing a good capacity, and eagerly bent on being a scholar, he attained, notwithstanding these disadvantages, to such proficiency as to be qualified for entering the university about the 14th year of his age, having then become so familiar with the Roman classics as to be able to understand any of them, and to speak Latin almost as freely as his mother tongue.

Upon completing his course of education at the university, he lived mostly at home with his mother, brother, and sisters, not meddling for some time with the temporal affairs of the family, which being in great disorder, required both a prudent and diligent person to rectify ; but applying his mind wholly to study, and to the state of his soul, which, he observes, “ was more sad and dark than his temporal circumstances were.”

It was at this period that Fraser, according to his own belief, became the subject of the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit. At an early age he had been taught to pray in the morning and evening, and sentiments of piety had been instilled into his mind, but his nature being still unrenewed, its corrupt propensities retained the mastery, and exhibited themselves in many kinds of wickedness, as lying, swearing, Sabbath-breaking, stealing in some instances, and mocking at religion and re-

ligious persons. And when, through sharp convictions of conscience, and after a struggle between good and evil principles, he became at the time of his going to college to a great extent reformed, so that he left off his former vices, and engaged in all the duties of religion, private and public, he was still a stranger to the saving grace of God ; for he trusted in his duties as his saviours, and performed them rather to satisfy conscience than from love to God. But in the eighteenth year of his age, his views and feelings underwent an entire change. The way of salvation was savingly revealed to him, and from a discovery of the glory and loveliness of the Saviour, he was drawn to embrace him by a true and living faith.

Fraser had hitherto suffered in various ways from the state of embarrassment in which his father's affairs were left. It was not, however, till about the close of the year 1663, when demands were made for the payment of some debts which had lain over for a long time, that his difficulties arising from this source became most distressing. Being altogether unable to pay these debts, he was prosecuted before courts of justice, and so low was his temporal condition, that, as he informs us, " he had hardly decent clothing," entirely lost his credit, and was " under much contempt and hatred." " My carnal friends and relations according to the flesh," he adds, " were afraid at me, I was a terror unto them, they blessed themselves when they saw me ; and even my godly friends could not but wonder how we were brought down, and could not justify all I had done. I and our family were the common proverb among all our neighbours. Now see, say they, what too much religion and conscience have done. Others would say, I love not that religion that destroys our interest in the world.

Surely, would some say, were not these dissenters fanatics, gross hypocrites, and displeasing to God, he would not so testify against them. And I still was the instance and proof they gave of their blasphemies; and this did wound my heart as a sword. I continued in this afflicted, despised, low condition, for the space of six years, and could not borrow £5 upon either my write or word." These things were trying enough, and they taught him lessons which he could not have learned from a thousand homilies.

After completing his academical course, though he desired to be employed in the work of the sacred ministry and had devoted himself to it, he was discouraged from entering on the study of theology from the circumstances of the times. Presbytery being subverted and Prelacy established, he saw no channel through which he could obtain, consistently with his principles, licence and ordination. "The form of government by bishops, deans, &c.," says he, "as being of the nature of an earthly kingdom and not like the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and being likewise sworn against, and being accompanied with much ignorance and ungodliness, I could not acknowledge, join with or submit to, and therefore could receive no power from them, and all presbyterial government extinct, cut off and dissolved, I did not see how I could accomplish my vows, and did therefore think myself discharged of the same." He adds, "Besides, I was engaged in a multitude of civil business that I had no leisure to look into any other thing, and hereupon the design of entering the public office of the ministry did cease and sleep."

Accordingly, he commenced the study of law to fit him for civil business. But this study not suiting his inclination, he relinquished it to prepare for the sacred

ministry, discouraging as that work was in every worldly point of view. Meanwhile, the word of the Lord being "as a fire within him," he not only in his own private family exhorted and expounded the Scriptures, but also with the approbation and desire of others preached, though he had not as yet received licence, to great multitudes assembled in private houses, with much acceptance, and not without good effect; for his plain familiar manner of address, which was accommodated to the meanest capacity, the apt similitudes with which he illustrated his subject, at once interested and edified the common people, among whom he was highly popular. He officiated almost every Sabbath, and whenever he paid a visit to a pious minister he was employed by him to preach.

On coming to the south, following the same course as he had done in the north, some of the ministers were displeased, conceiving it to be irregular for him to preach, as he had not yet received licence; nor were they without apprehensions that he intended to form a sect of his own, in which they were confirmed from hearing that he maintained several singular opinions, and made use of some strange forms of expression. Accordingly, they appointed one of their number to desire him to forbear a practice which gave offence. The minister did so, and at the same time candidly told him some other grounds of offence his brethren had at him, such as that they heard he was congregational in his views of church government, at least that he was lax in his principles as to presbyterial government, and that they had strong suspicions that he was inclined to Arminianism, because he expressed himself favourable to universal redemption. Fraser, thanking him for the freedom he had used, told him

that he did not pretend to an immediate extraordinary mission,—that he abhorred the thought of making factions,—that it was true he expounded the scriptures and exhorted from them, though he was never formally licensed or ordained ; but that he did this because the times were extraordinary, the church being in a troubled state, when ministers could not do things regularly, and that not having freedom according to his judgment to take prelatic orders, he conceived that it was lawful for him, yea, that he was bound, to employ any talent God had given him for the use of his people,—that he was willing to submit himself to the trials of the ministry and to pass in a regular way, and in the mean time to forbear what was offensive to them,—that as to the government of the church, there were so many godly men amongst the Independents, that he could not but love them and acknowledge them a true church of Christ, and that the difference betwixt them and Presbyterians being so small, it was indifferent to him to live in fellowship either with the one or the other*,—that he abhorred Arminianism in all its branches, and that as to universal redemption, although in a certain sense he maintained a common redemption, yet he acknowledged a special redemption in which none but the elect had interest. This was the substance of what he stated at several times and to several persons for the satisfaction of those ministers, with which at last they were satisfied.

Fraser, after this returning to the north, was licensed to preach the gospel, and also ordained for discharging all the duties of the ministerial function, by a few non-

* Fraser's sentiments on church government were more loose than those held by the nonconforming Presbyterian ministers in general, who strictly held the exclusive divine right of Presbytery.

conforming Presbyterian ministers in that part of the country, after delivering such trial discourses, and undergoing such examinations as were deemed necessary. This was in the year 1670,* in the 31st year of his age.

Being thus formally admitted to the office of the sacred ministry, he continued preaching on the Sabbath almost uninterruptedly, and often to great multitudes of people, both in the south and north, in prison and out of it, except when he was prisoner in Blackness and Newgate, none having been admitted to him on the Sabbath when he was confined in these places. In his sermons, he tells us that he insisted very little on public matters, or on duties, or such like topics, but handled those points in which the life and heart of religion consisted, as regeneration, faith, the covenant of grace, marks of grace, spiritual exercise, doubts, and conflicts, and that he especially laboured to distinguish betwixt the law and the gospel.†

About two or three years after receiving licence, during which time he lived with his mother, having occasion to go to the south about some worldly business, he became acquainted with the lady who soon after became his wife. This lady was a widow, whose first husband, to whom she had several children, died abroad ; and if Fraser may be credited in this matter, she was possessed of no ordinary personal beauty and mental qualities. His first acquaintance with her, and the attractions by which she engaged his heart, he thus describes :—" There [in the south] I became acquainted with the gentlewoman I shortly afterwards married ; but I was put upon it by others to make her at least a

* In the MS. Memoirs, and also in those published, it is 1672, evidently by mistake.

† Fraser's Memoirs, MS. copy.

visit, which I did, and seeing and conversing with her, I cannot say but I liked her, and did I find the Lord allow it, I should gladly have married her ; but I could determine nothing until I had sought the Lord in it. . . . Two visits yet I made her ; I came to understand she was of honest extraction,—that she had yearly of dowry about 44 or 45 lbs. ; she was pleasant and lovely to look upon, of a discreet carriage, well-behaved, witty and prudent, well-humoured, and finally virtuous, and that loved the best things, and followed them in singleness of heart, though many had a fairer and greater profession than she.”

To this lady he was united in marriage on the last day of July 1672, having then completed the thirty-third year of his age ; and in this new relation he experienced all the happiness which can arise from the union of congenial minds, and from the exercise of every endearing domestic virtue. Writing on this subject long after she had been laid in the dust, from the fullness of a heart overflowing with tender recollections, he says, with an artless simplicity and truthfulness which are apt to provoke a smile, “ I was not many days married, when I perceived the goodness of the Lord in giving me so good and comfortable a yokefellow. I was fully satisfied in my choice, insomuch that I have several times said and thought, that were all the women of the world before me to choose a wife of, and were I as free as ever I was, that verily I should have picked out mine own wife, J—— G——, for so was she called, from them all. If our love before marriage needed anything to perfect it, it received that when we were married, nor was her love less to me than mine to her. She was a very good-taking mistress, but I found her a better wife. She had, in a word, extraordinary good

qualities, and powerful attractive charms, insomuch that I thought many times she was made to be a meet-help to comfort poor sorrowful man in his wearisome pilgrimage."

Fraser also found much comfort in her friends, who contributed in various ways to promote his temporal interests. "Nor," says he, "had I satisfaction in her only, but in all her relations, sisters, nephews, and allies, who all of them both loved and honoured me as if I had been their brother, and much better than I deserved, and their respect continueth without a breach unto this day, so that I may truly say, I no less loved them than my nearest natural relations; nor was their love in word or show only, but likewise in deed, and really in several things relating to law affairs, they were very useful to me, and served me freely." Being lawyers, they not only assisted and defended him in his law actions, but made some of his debtors pay who never intended to do so, and besides negotiated affairs in his absence better than he could have done himself.

Not later than a few days after his marriage, and when he and his wife were preparing to go to the north, a messenger came to the house where they resided, with a summons to him to appear before the Council for keeping conventicles. The Bishop of Murray, in whose diocese he had preached, and a Privy Counsellor, who had a grudge at his wife, were the persons who occasioned him this trouble; but his wife's friends, to whom he made known the matter, prevailing with the messenger to take away the summons, and to indorse on the back of his execution that he had not found him, a new summons was necessary. His persecutors, enraged at this, sent a new summons after him when he had gone to the north, to the distance of 160 miles.

On receiving it, he came to the determination, though contrary to the advice of his friends, not to appear; upon which he was denounced a rebel, and outlawed. Coming shortly after to the south, through the influence of his friends, the Counsellor referred to above, to whom the executions were delivered, would never give them up, and so they came to nothing.* He, however, enjoyed only a brief respite. Being summoned with other ministers to appear before the Council on the 16th of July 1674, for keeping conventicles, and failing to appear, he was anew denounced a rebel.† In consequence of this, he was under the necessity of frequently changing his lodgings; he often preached under great apprehensions of being seized by his enemies, who were seeking after him, and was, in several instances, interrupted in the very act of preaching, by soldiers who had come with orders to arrest him. "My spirit, by these tossings," says he, "was rather distempered and jumbled, than bettered."

In August 1675, when letters of intercommuning were proclaimed against upwards of a hundred of the most zealous nonconformists, consisting of ministers, laymen, and ladies, Fraser was included among the number. His friends used their influence to secure him from this severe punishment, but without success; for the Bishops, knowing his hostility to the established government of the Church, his popularity among the people, and that he was a person of considerable abilities, regarded him with great jealousy, and were determined that his name should be put into the letters.

* Fraser's *Memoirs in Select Biographies*, printed for Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 337.

† Wodrow's *History*, vol. ii. p. 286.

But "this bolt did not hit." He never found the least prejudice from that severe measure, nor did any who harboured him ever suffer on his account. He went about his business with as much freedom and success as he had ever done. Notwithstanding these letters, "never one," says he, "that cared for me, shunned my company ; yea, a great many more carnal relations and acquaintances, did entertain me as freely as ever they did ; yea, so far did the goodness of the Lord turn this to my good, that I observed it was at that time I got most of my civil business expedite."*

All the blessings of life are held by a very precarious tenure. Fraser had now to undergo a severe trial in the death of his invaluable and beloved wife, which it required all his faith and fortitude to sustain. In the beginning of October 1676, he had gone to Northumberland upon business, and, while there, received intelligence that she was lying dangerously ill of a fever. Without losing a moment, he hurried home in deep agony of spirit, to see her if possible in life. But he was too late, for, on his arrival, he found that what he dreaded had taken place ; death, that destroyer of human hopes and human joys, having done its work four hours before. The loss of this excellent woman he felt as no ordinary bereavement. His grief was sincere, deep, and lasting, though he sorrowed not as those who have no hope, and bowed in submission to the will of his heavenly Father. After this, he was heard to say, "that he never knew what it was to rejoice in any outward enjoyment from his heart, and that the whole world looked to him as an empty, ghastly room, despoiled of its best furnishing." He had been married

* Fraser's Memoirs in Select Biographies, printed for Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 339.

four years and a quarter ; and survived his wife more than twenty years, but did not again marry.

Within three months after this bereavement, when the wound was still fresh, Fraser fell into the hands of his persecutors. From the time of his being outlawed, which was now about two years and a half ago, his friends the bishops had not ceased to keep a watchful eye upon him, and the more especially as, during all that period, he was assiduous in fulfilling the commission he had received from the Lord Jesus, by preaching the gospel. Accordingly, they represented him to the Privy Council as a person of disloyal principles and practices, and he had the honour to be one of three for the apprehension of whom a considerable sum of money was offered. For several years many unsuccessful attempts had been made to apprehend him. But at last the provost of Edinburgh, at the instigation of Archbishop Sharp, and encouraged by the promise of great rewards, succeeded, through the treachery of a servant-maid whom he had bribed, in apprehending him in the house of a friend on the evening of the 28th January 1677, being Sabbath, as he was engaged after supper in family prayer. The provost immediately carried him to prison, and informed the Archbishop, who early next morning sent orders to the jailor to keep the prisoner closely confined, and entirely secluded from visitors. In the afternoon at five o'clock, he was brought before a Committee of the Council, and examined. The charges preferred against him in the course of his examination were, that he preached without authority from the bishop and in the fields, that he held seditious principles and was extremely active in propagating them, that he maintained the lawfulness of rising up in arms against the king upon pretence

of religion, whenever the people thought themselves wronged, and that he had corresponded with one of the prisoners in the Bass. None of these charges were true, except that he preached without the authority of the bishop, and that he preached in the fields. As this last, according to the law at that time, was a capital offence, he very properly declined to make any confession in reference to it, telling his examiners that he could not be expected to put into their hands a weapon with which to take away his life by becoming his own accuser, and that, if they intended to try him on that matter, they might bring forward their witnesses to substantiate the charge. He, however, freely acknowledged that he preached, although he had never received licence from a bishop, adding that, though his extraction was not altogether despicable, he gloried more in serving God in the gospel of his Son than in any thing else he pretended to. To the other charges he replied in the negative. All the members of Committee, with the exception of Archbishop Sharp, treated him with moderation and seemed inclined to leniency. But that prelate, whose antipathies were most inveterate and active against such of the Presbyterian ministers as were most gifted and zealous, vehemently denounced him as a demagogue, who had been traversing the country disseminating the most seditious principles. "This gentleman," says he, "seems not at all to be ingenuous with us ; possibly he would be more so if he knew the state he stands in, which is not ordinary, for he is of most pernicious principles, destructive to all kind of government, and withal is very active in spreading them, so that there is scarce a conventicle I hear of, but it is still Mr Fraser who is the preacher ; and likewise he is given out to be a man of parts and learning,

and therefore the more to be taken notice of, since parts that way improven are most dangerous." To this bitter invective, Fraser calmly answered, taking due care however not to address Sharp by the title of "My Lord:" "I have no pernicious principles, I hold; such as you mean may concern either church government or loyalty; as to the first, I fully acknowledge, as it is now established, I have a very great aversion from it; as to my loyalty, I would not care much though you all saw what were in my heart anent it; as to my spreading of them, I have been preaching Christ and exhorting people to mend their ways and repent, and if the doing of that be pernicious I confess myself guilty of it." Fraser, it is very likely, would mortify Sharp by not giving him his lordly title, and for this omission he was reproved by one of the members of Council as guilty of a breach of good manners. "You seem," said Lord Halton, "to be of the quaker principles, for though ye give us our due titles, yet my lord St Andrews, whom his Majesty is pleased to honour, ye give him not so much as he gives you; he gives you Sir, and ye give him nothing at all; that is no civility." Fraser, who purposely and on principle made the omission, not simply because he recognised in Sharp the perjured betrayer and remorseless persecutor of the Church of Scotland, but because he believed the lordly titles of prelates to be condemned in the word of God, acknowledged that he was "a rude man;" but reminded their lordships, that he had been called before them for a different purpose than to justify himself on the score of good breeding.*

After his examination he was remanded to the prison, and orders were given to keep him under severer restrictions than formerly. His pockets were searched

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 353, 354.

for letters ; knives, ink, paper, and pens, were taken from him, and he was secluded from all company. A little before six o'clock next morning, he was awakened by one of the jailors, who ordered him to make himself ready by six o'clock to go to the Bass, as the Committee of Council had determined to send him thither. Their act is as follows:—" Mr James Fraser of Brea, who is a known keeper of house and field conventicles, and guilty of many disorderly practices, to the disturbance of the peace, and is a declared fugitive and an intercommuned person, being apprehended in the burgh of Edinburgh, upon Sunday night, the Committee having called for him and examined him, he acknowledged his keeping of conventicles in several places ; and finding him to be a person of most dangerous and pernicious principles and practices, they thought fit to send him prisoner to the Bass by a party of guards, until the Council shall take some further course with him. They thought fit also, by the same party, to send Mr James Mitchell prisoner to the said place."*

Accordingly, Fraser, along with Mitchell, who had been in the same prison with him, were escorted to their new place of confinement by a party of twelve horsemen and thirty foot ; and, after stopping one night by the way, were delivered up, on landing at the island, to the custody of the governor.

Here Fraser continued a prisoner for two years and a half, enduring many inconveniences and hardships. Severe and harassing as his former troubles in the cause of the gospel had been, he felt his present condition

* The date of this act is the 29th of January. On the 1st of February the " Council, having heard and considered the foresaid Report, approve the same, and the Committee's proceedings mentioned therein ; and they discharge the commander of the garrison in the Bass to allow the prisoners therein any servants of their own to attend them, but that he appoint such serving women, for waiting upon them, as he will be answerable."

still more distressing. Precluded from proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation to his fellow-sinners, he felt this to be the most poignant part of his affliction. Bereaved of or separated from the dearest of his earthly connections and friends, he looked back with melancholy interest to the days that were past, when the candle of the Lord shone upon his tabernacle, when he "rejoiced with the wife of his youth," when his children were "like olive plants round about his table," when he enjoyed the society of friends, and went with the multitude that kept holy days; and at the remembrance of these things his soul was poured out within him. These affecting changes in his condition, with many positive hardships, which have been specified in a former notice,* and need not here be repeated, rendered his condition very painful to flesh and blood. Still he was far from being unhappy or wretched. The retrospect was not darkened by the memory of crime. Nor did he indulge in unavailing murmurs or complaints, but raised himself above the sorrows which oppressed him, and sustained his faith and hope in God by reflecting on the blessings which he still possessed; while, at the same time, the judicious manner in which he employed the passing hours tended, in no small degree, to render his imprisonment both tolerable and advantageous.

In illustration of the calm, contented, and grateful spirit which he cherished in his dreary exile, we may quote the following passage from his Memoirs.

"Here," says he, "I had likewise experience of the goodness of God towards me; and 1. In providing for me, without being chargeable to any for such things as I stood in need of. 2. In preserving and supporting me under great pressures of spirit from sin, sufferings, temptations, griefs, sorrows, and un-

* See Notice of William Bell, pp. 114-116.

tenderness of brethren and friends,* so as I was not therewith overwhelmed. 3. In preserving me in health all that time. 4. That in this time, partly by selling household plenishing, and improving of my estate, I paid and cleared one hundred pounds of debts. 5. I had the comfort and edification of fellow-prisoners, both ministers and others, some there before me, and others brought in since my coming, whose company was sweet and edifying many times to me. 6. We had liberty, for the most part, of taking the air up the hill ; my solitary walks were sometimes very pleasant to me. 7. I had the comfort of friends that came in kindness to see me from the city and country. 8. I had some special visits from God, ordinarily in private duties, and sometimes in worshipping and conference with others. 9. Some increase (I think) I find in gifts, knowledge, and grace ; some further discoveries of the knowledge of Christ and the gospel I never had before. 10. I was made some way useful by writing of letters abroad, praying with, and preaching to, and conference with others. 11. And that I had a cleanly unexpected deliverance from this sad place. 12. Some improvement I made of this price that was put in my hand, through grace, that helped me. These things, I think, I was bound to take notice of, and be thankful for to the Lord."†

How noble a pattern for imitation ! So far from brooding over his calamities, repining at divine providence, and indulging in a spirit of irritation against his enemies, effects which his circumstances naturally tended to produce, Fraser cherished the profoundest gratitude to God for the mercies still left him, took delight in revolving these mercies in his mind, and repressed every improper feeling towards his persecutors.

* The " untenderness of brethren and friends," from which Fraser here speaks of having suffered, probably refers to the offence taken at the unsound doctrine contained in his *Treatise on Justifying Faith* by some of his brethren in the ministry, by whom he thought he was not treated, in reference to that matter, with sufficient tenderness. See pp. 143-145.

† Fraser's *Memoirs in Select Biographies*, printed for Wodrow Society, vol. ii. pp. 345, 346.

To beguile the tedious hours of his confinement, and turn the leisure afforded him to some profitable account, besides employing a due proportion of his time in devotional exercises, he engaged in the study of the original languages of the Scriptures, in reading books on theology, and in writing on various religious subjects ; and in these agreeable occupations, which alternately relieved each other, he found a source of true pleasure, as well as of intellectual and spiritual improvement. “ As for my exercises here,” says he, “ and improvement of my time, I judged, when I first came here, that I was called to some work and improvement of this price put in my hand ; and therefore did I, 1. Exercise myself in lamenting my sins, and misspent life, and great shortcoming. 2. I laboured after, and desired some further knowledge of God and Christ, and grace, and to glorify God in my sufferings. 3. Some hours, morning and evening and mid-day, I spent in meditation, in praising, in reading the Scriptures, for keeping up and increasing communion with God, and increase of grace, and this constantly ; besides several fast-days, which were my sweetest seasons, and best times. 4. Every day I read the Scriptures, exhorted and taught therefrom, did sing psalms, and prayed with such of our society as our masters did allow and permit to worship God together, and this two times a-day. 5. I studied Hebrew and Greek, and gained some knowledge in these Oriental languages. 6. I likewise read some divinity, and wrote a Treatise of Faith, with some other miscellanies, and several letters to Christian friends and relations. Thus I spent my time, and not without some fruit.”*

* Fraser's *Memoirs in Select Biographies*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 346.

As the "Treatise on Justifying Faith" which Fraser composed in the Bass involved him in a controversy with some of his brethren, in consequence of certain erroneous doctrinal views which it undertakes to defend, it may not be improper here to give a brief account of that controversy. In that work, besides other erroneous sentiments, he adopts, and labours at length to establish, the doctrine of universal atonement,—the doctrine that "Christ did, by his one infinite, indivisible satisfaction and ransom, satisfy Divine justice for the sins of all mankind, though with different intention and ends according to the different objects thereof ;"* with intention to save the elect, "but not to save the rest, but that they, contemning and rejecting the offer of salvation, might be made fit objects to show his just gospel-vengeance and wrath upon them."† This was startling doctrine, as well as novel, to the Church of Scotland, and it could not fail to create alarm. Accordingly, Fraser having given the MS. of this treatise—for it was not printed until long after his death—to his sister-in-law, by whom it was communicated to some others, several ministers, coming to understand the objectionable opinions which it maintained, took offence at the author.

Hearing of this, he wrote a letter to a friend in self-vindication, admitting that he would not stand to every expression he had employed, and in order to reconcile dissatisfied brethren, expressing it as his purpose, that "as he had not broached these views formerly to the disturbance of the peace of the Church, so he would not in time to come disturb or endanger its peace by doing so." Meanwhile, Mr John Carstairs,—father of the celebrated William Carstairs, principal of the Col-

* Treatise on Justifying Faith, p. 222.

† Ibid. 246.

lege of Edinburgh,—who had never seen the volume, but who had learned its character from a minister in whose judgment he had great confidence, wrote to Fraser a long letter, in which he animadverts upon his opinions with great freedom, and plainly intimates that he could not do better than destroy the book. “I humbly wish,” says he, “especially since yourself judged there were some things in it to be corrected, it had never been seen, and that you had smothered and destroyed it as an untimely birth, since any good things in it, I suppose, you will in humility judge, might have been got elsewhere, to no worse, if not altogether to as good purpose; and the ill and unsound, or raw and undigested things in it, would thus happily never have been heard tell of.”*

Fraser was much hurt at the dissatisfaction which his brethren felt on account of his novel opinions, and thought that they had not altogether treated him so tenderly as they ought to have done.† It was no doubt natural for him to feel and think so, especially as he had not published that treatise to the world, as it had got into several hands without his knowledge or consent, and as he had engaged not to spread these views to the disturbance of the peace of the church. But as the book defended a scheme of doctrine very objectionable, and as its being written by a man highly esteemed for piety and zeal, and who had suffered much in the cause of the gospel, would render it, if circulated or published, so much the more dangerous, it is not to be wondered at if they were alarmed. Though he was dear to them,

* Wodrow MSS. vol. lix. folio, no. 60. Carstairs' Letter is dated June 4. 1677. Fraser wrote a long letter in reply, which Carstairs again answered; and there the correspondence appears to have ended.

† See p. 141.

and they were unwilling to add to his affliction, yet they felt themselves bound, as the guardians of sacred truth, to use every means in their power to prevent the dissemination of error; and Carstairs, one of the mildest, as well as the most devout of men, reminded him of the ancient adage, "*Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas.*" This controversy appears to have been suppressed. If Fraser did not alter his opinions, which it is not likely he did, he acted in the discharge of his public ministry with such prudence, that we do not find any objections taken at the doctrine he preached, nor did he ever publish the treatise,* though he lived many years after this correspondence between him and Carstairs.

Fraser continued a prisoner in the Bass for two years and a half. During that period endeavours were repeatedly made by his friends to procure his release but without success, the terms offered being such as he could not conscientiously submit to. On the 5th of October 1677, the Council, having considered a petition which he presented to them supplicating to be liberated, "granted order and warrant to the Governor of the Isle of Bass to set him at liberty, upon his finding suffi-

* It was however preserved, and several copies of it were taken after his death. The first part of it was published in 1722. The second part, which is the most exceptionable, did not appear till 1749, when it produced a division in the Reformed Presbytery or Cameronian body, its principles having been adopted by some of the members of that denomination. It also occasioned warm debates in the Antiburgher Secession Synod, and Mr Thomas Mair, minister at Orwell, a member of that body, was deposed for declining to abstain from teaching the views which it advocates. Mair had been employed to transcribe the MS. when a boy at school, by his uncle, Mr George Mair, who succeeded Fraser as minister of Culross. Gib's Display of the Secession Testimony, vol. ii. pp. 131-148. Gib was disposed to question the authenticity of the work; but there is now no room for doubting that it was written by Fraser. Account of the Marrow Controversy by Dr M'Crie, in the Christian Instructor for 1831.

cient caution, under the pain of ten thousand pounds Scots, to enter himself in prison when he should be called, and that during the time of his enlargement he should live orderly, in obedience to law, under the pain foresaid." As the government, by "living orderly," meant that he was to abstain from preaching in the fields or in houses, Fraser not being prepared to engage to do this, and refusing to come under any other obligation than to appear when called, the Council, influenced in a great measure by Archbishop Sharp, refused to grant him liberty on such terms. But when the king issued a third indulgence, after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and at the same time gave orders in a letter to the Council that such prisoners for nonconformity as had not been accessory to that rising should be liberated, Fraser, according to an act of Council, was removed from the Bass to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, from which he was soon after liberated, on giving bond to appear when called under the penalty of ten thousand merks Scots in case of failure.* Fraser's cautioner was Sir Hugh Campbell of Caddell; and the bond is dated 18th August 1679.

Fraser continued to enjoy liberty for nearly two years and a half; and during that time, he led a wandering and unsettled life, residing sometimes with one and sometimes with another, but living for the most part in the north, and preaching both privately and publicly wherever he found opportunity. But bonds and imprisonment still awaited him. On his return from the south, towards the close of the year 1681, having preached one Sabbath in a barn to a considerable number of people, the Council being informed that it was a

* Seven other prisoners in the Bass were liberated at the same time. See *Life of William Bell*, pp. 117, 118.

field-meeting, summoned him and Sir Hugh Campbell, his surety, to appear before them. But on learning that it was a house conventicle, they allowed the citation to rest, and only spoke on the subject to his cautioner, who was at that time in Edinburgh. Sir Hugh shortly after going to the north found Fraser lying sick of an ague, and informed him how matters went, at the same time telling him that he intended to send the Bishop of Edinburgh and the Lord Advocate information of his sickness. Fraser, who well understood the spirit which actuated these men, earnestly dissuaded him from such a purpose, assuring him that if the prelates heard of this they would most certainly summon him to appear before the Council, in the hope that, either through his inability to appear, they would get into their hands the ten thousand merks which his surety in that case would forfeit,* or that if he appeared, his life by so long a journey would be endangered. The event proved that these were far from groundless and uncharitable suspicions. Campbell, disregarding this prudent advice, and judging too favourably of the men with whom he had to deal, wrote to the Bishop concerning Fraser's sickness, and that he did not preach in the fields. The Bishop, immediately on receiving the letter, informed the Council, who, as Fraser had anticipated, cited him to appear before them on the 22d of December 1681. The Council, at that time greatly irritated, had found the Earl of Argyle guilty of treason; and Fraser and his friends were not without apprehensions that his life was aimed at. Though he had not preached in the fields since his liberation from the Bass, yet as he had

* Sir Hugh Campbell of Caddell was very friendly to the Presbyterian ministers, and for several of them, in the same circumstances as Fraser, he had come under engagements which amounted in all to not less than £1700. On this account the government had no good will towards him.

preached in private houses when some of the people were without doors,—which according to the law was a field conventicle, he had thereby rendered himself liable to the punishment of death. He had besides learned that the Council were in possession of some notes of a sermon he had delivered, upon which they intended to proceed against him criminally. His friends therefore, alarmed for his safety, advised him not to appear before the Council. Only one consideration prevented him from complying with this advice. By failing to appear, his cautioner, who had so deeply interested himself in his welfare, would have had to pay for him a large sum, and Fraser, rather than subject him to any loss, resolved to make his appearance whatever the consequences might be; in doing which, he was much encouraged by his sudden and unexpected recovery. Accordingly, he and his friend set out for Edinburgh, where they arrived the day previous to that on which he had been summoned to appear. On presenting himself at the bar of the Council, who were astonished to see him there, his indictment was read, which bore, that although “by his Majesty’s royal clemency, and in expectation of his future good behaviour,” he had been liberated from the Bass where he had been confined “upon the account of several disorders,” yet he had “so far abused his Majesty’s favour and clemency, as that ever since he was liberated he hath continued to trouble and infest the several places of the country whether he hath had occasion to resort, by venting seditious and disloyal principles and taking upon him the office of the ministry, albeit he be not in orders, and keeping of conventicles, and at these seditious meetings abusing and debauching his Majesty’s subjects from their loyalty and allegiance to his Majesty, and infusing in them se-

ditions and disloyal principles, to the great disturbance of his Majesty's peace in these places where he resorts, for which he ought and should be exemplarily punished in his person and goods, to the terror of others to commit and do the like in time coming."*

The King's Advocate referred the whole to his oath, and the President required him to depone whether he had preached in the fields or in houses since his liberation from the Bass. Fraser having just the day before arrived in town, after a tedious journey and severe sickness, and having never seen nor heard his indictment till it was read, desired that a few days might be granted him to answer it. This reasonable request being denied him, and being ordered immediately to give his oath, or stand to the consequences of refusing, he declared his readiness to swear that he was innocent of every article charged against him in the indictment; but to prevent his being teased with vexatious questions, to state the true grounds of his sufferings, and to vindicate himself and others from false imputations, he desired the favour of being permitted to address the Council. This being granted, he defended himself with much ability and spirit from the charges of having preached in the fields since his liberation from the Bass,—of preaching without authority, having been solemnly licensed and ordained to the ministerial office by such as were competent to do so,—and of preaching disloyal and seditious principles. His defence, which was patiently listened to, produced so favourable an impression on many of the counsellors that they were inclined to acquit him. But the bishops, to whom the matter was ultimately left, and who never seem to have been troubled with scruples of conscience about con-

* Decrees of Privy Council, 22d December 1681.

demning a zealous nonconformist, however completely he may have defended himself, gave it as their opinion that he ought to be punished ; upon which the Council found him, “ by his own confession, guilty of a continued habit of keeping conventicles for many months since his Majesty’s act of indemnity, and the favour allowed him of liberty forth of the Bass, where he was prisoner for the like disorders ; and therefore, conform to the fifth act, Parliament second, session second, Charles the Second, he being an heritor, fine him in the sum of five thousand merks Scots money, to be paid to his Majesty’s cash-keeper for his Majesty’s use ; and ordain him to be committed prisoner in the Castle of Blackness, there to remain till he pay his said fine, and find caution, under the penalty of five thousand merks that he shall not preach at conventicles hereafter, or remove himself off the kingdom, conform to the foresaid act of Parliament ; and appoint him instantly to be carried to the tolbooth of Edinburgh till he be transported to Blackness, and grant warrant to the Earl of Linlithgow to receive and detain him accordingly ; and, in regard the Laird of Caddell has produced the defender at the bar, ordain him to have his bond delivered up to him.”

Accordingly, after continuing six weeks prisoner at Edinburgh, he was sent to Blackness, where he was kept in close confinement, and subjected to much hardship from the caprice of a tyrannical governor, for seven weeks ; after which, through a petition which his brother-in-law, without his knowledge, presented to the Council in his behalf, he was set at liberty, and his fine remitted, on condition that he should immediately remove himself out of the kingdom, not to return with-

out the King's or Council's permission.* On learning this decision, the thought of leaving the land of his birth, his dear mother, children, brothers, and sisters, as well as his friends and relatives, whom he might never again see in this world, and of spending the remainder of his days among strangers, by whom he reckoned on being counted as "a barbarian," was for some time painful to him. But the condition on which he was liberated involving no dereliction of principle, he had a good and clear conscience, and labouring to bring his mind to his condition, he left Scotland, and the friends dear to him, for London, about the end of May 1682. Conceiving that his Scottish dialect and accent would be ungrateful to the English ear, he at first resolved to forbear preaching, but being invited to preach at several places, he was drawn forth from the privacy he had contemplated, and his character and gifts being soon appreciated by the English, of whose sympathy and generosity towards him he makes honourable mention, he discharged, as he was helped, the ministry which he had received of the Lord, preaching every Sabbath, and sometimes also on the week days. But here new sufferings awaited him. After the execution of Lord Russell and Colonel Sidney,† for their accession to an alleged

* Fraser's *Memoirs in Select Biographies*, vol. ii. p. 357. In the decret of the Privy Council (16th March 1682), it is called "A Petition by James Fraser of Brea." But these petitions are sometimes called, in the Registers, the petitions of the prisoner, when they were drawn up and presented by some of his friends; which was sometimes done even without his knowledge.

† Lord Russell, Colonel Sidney, and several others of liberal sentiments, alarmed at the influence of the Duke of York at court, and the steps taken for the overthrow of the constitution, held secret meetings, to devise measures for excluding the Duke of York from the throne, and preserving the Protestant religion and the liberty of the subject. There was no murderous design. This was denied by themselves, and it has never been proved against them. Wodrow's *History*, vol. iii. p. 498.

plot for murdering the King and the Duke of York, he was apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in the plot, and brought before the King, the Duke of York, and some members of the Council, who, after examining him, although apparently satisfied from his answers that he had no share in the plot, and could give them no information concerning it, handed him over to the Lord Mayor, who was ordered to test his loyalty by putting to him the oath of allegiance, the oath of supremacy, and the Oxford oath. Fraser expressed his willingness to take the oath of allegiance,* but demurred at taking the oath of supremacy, until further consideration, while he absolutely refused to take the Oxford oath,† declaring, at the same time, that if the

* “The English oath of allegiance was much less exceptionable than the Scottish, having been drawn up by James VI. to meet, if possible, the views of Roman Catholics, whom he was very desirous of attaching to his government. The Scottish oath consisted of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy blended together.” Note of Dr M’Crie in *Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson*, p. 299.

† The Oxford oath was as follows:—“I, A. B., do swear, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king: And that I do abhor the traitorous position of taking arms, by any authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commission: And that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of the government, either in Church or State.” Calamy’s *Abridgment of Baxter’s History of his Life and Times, &c.*, vol. i. p. 313. The circumstances which led to the imposition of this oath were these:—In 1665, when the plague was raging in London, carrying off at the rate of ten thousand in the week, and when the city ministers fled through terror and left their flocks in the time of their extremity, several of the ejected nonconforming ministers, such as Mr Thomas Vincent, Mr Chester, Mr Janeway, Mr Turner, Mr Grimes, Mr Franklin, and others, actuated by sympathy for the sick and dying, who had no man to care for their souls, resolved, though against the law, to enter the deserted pulpits and preach to the people the gospel; and this they actually did. But while they were so employed, the Parliament which sat at Oxford were busy in making an act, the amount of which was, that all the silenced ministers should take the above oath; and, upon their refusal, they were prohibited to come (unless upon the road) within five miles of any city or corpora-

taking of the oath of allegiance did not secure his release, he would take none of them. The result was, that he was committed prisoner to Newgate, there to remain for the space of six months. Fraser was agreeably disappointed in finding that this was far from being so melancholy and sad a place of confinement as the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the Bass, or Blackness, for he had one of the best rooms in the prison, large, cleanly, and lightsome; the jailors treated him with no small civility and kindness; he had much pleasant intercourse with intelligent and learned nonconformists of his own persuasion, also prisoners, who were permitted to associate together during the whole day; and, in short, he wanted nothing; which made him say that he "could hardly call it suffering." Thus lenient was the treatment of nonconformists in England compared with the barbarity exercised by the government towards those in Scotland. On being set at liberty, resuming his work of preaching the gospel, he met with much favour and respect among his new acquaintances and friends in England.

Returning to Scotland after the Revolution, he became minister of Culross, a parish in the county of Fife, where he continued faithfully to discharge his pastoral duties till his death, beloved and revered by the good for his wisdom and piety. He had preached in the meeting-house there from the beginning of January 1689; and when, in May following, the incumbents* of that parish were deprived by the Committee

tion, or any place where they had been ministers, or had preached after the act of oblivion. This was called the "Five Mile Act." (Ibid. vol. i. pp. 310, 311.)

* Culross was a collegiate charge. The two incumbents were Mr Robert Wright and Mr Alexander Young. Mr Wright was admitted in 1662; the date of Mr Young's admission is unknown. There was no second

of Estates for not reading their proclamation against owning King James VII., and for not praying for King William and Queen Mary, as king and queen of this realm,* the Committee of Estates, in compliance with a petition of some in the parish, ordained him to remove from the meeting-house to the kirk, and therein to preach and exercise his other ministerial functions. In defiance of this act, the Earl of Kincardine and the Magistrates of Culross, who had the keys of the church in their custody, being Jacobites, refused on the Sabbath morning to allow Fraser access to the church ; but, at the desire of some in the parish, two companies of the Laird of Kenmure's regiment broke open the church betwixt eight and nine on the Sabbath morning, and brought Fraser and another minister into it. The Earl of Kincardine and the Magistrates complained to the Lords

minister of the parish from 1689 to 1698, when Mr George Mair was admitted second minister on the 2d of September. It is, however, probable, that Mair, before that, had been assistant to Fraser. Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife, p. 236.

* By an act of the Committee of Estates, passed the 3d of April 1689, all ministers were expressly commanded to read a proclamation of that date, and publicly to pray for King William and Queen Mary, as king and queen of Scotland, upon the days particularly mentioned therein, under the pain of being deprived of their benefices. In the proclamation referred to, " all the lieges are certified that they presume not to own or acknowledge the late King James VII. for their king, or presume, upon their highest peril, by handwriting, in sermons, or any other manner of way, to impugn or disown the royal authority of William and Mary, king and queen of Scotland." A large number of the prelatic incumbents refused to read the proclamation, and pray for King William and Queen Mary, upon which they were prosecuted before the Privy Council, and nearly two hundred of them were unceremoniously deprived of their benefices. The trials of these delinquents occupy several large volumes of the Records of the Privy Council. This was a piece of policy which the Earl of Crawford, a sagacious old whig, recommended to King William, with the view of taking from such of the prelatic clergy as were favourable to King James VII., that influence against the Revolution government which their situation, as ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, gave them.

of Council, from whom, however, they received little sympathy, being "discharged from troubling or molesting him in the peaceable exercise of his ministerial function, until the said kirk should be legally filled."*

At length Fraser was visited with his last illness, but death did not come upon him unprepared. His life had been a constant course of preparation for it, and now it was divested of its terrors. In the promises of the gospel, the theme on which he had delighted to dwell in his private meditations and public ministry, he found a sure foundation of hope, an infinite spring of joy, and his last words were,—“I am full of the consolations of Christ.” He died at Edinburgh on the 13th of September 1698, between nine and ten o'clock at night, aged fifty-nine.†

Fraser had by his wife three children, a boy, who died in infancy, and two daughters, both of whom he mentions as being alive when he wrote his *Memoirs*, which, as they bring down his history to his release from Newgate, must have been at least as late as 1684. One of these daughters, Jane, became the second wife of Hugh Rose of Kilravock, a man of integrity and merit. She died without issue.‡

Fraser never appeared as an author during his lifetime. His *Treatise on Justifying Faith*, and his *Memoirs of himself*, which have been repeatedly referred to, are posthumous publications. Of this last work he wrote two copies, which differ considerably from each other. One copy, which he dedicated to Mr Thomas Ross, formerly noticed, is chiefly confined to an account of

* Register of Acts of Privy Council, 2d September 1690.

† Advertisement prefixed to Fraser's *Memoirs of himself*, printed at Edinburgh, 1738.

‡ Douglas's *Baronage*, p. 456.

his religious experience. The other, in which he assumes the name of Philocris, gives a more particular account of the events of his life. His published Memoirs consist of the first copy entire, together with several chapters added from the other. A work of his, entitled, "The Lawfulness and Duty of Separation from Corrupt Ministers and Churches," was also published in 1744. The MS. of this volume is among the Wodrow MSS. vol. xxii. 8vo, no. 1, under the title "An Argument shewing that by the Covenant we are bound not to hear Conform Ministers." So early as about the close of the year 1663, Fraser began to entertain scruples about the lawfulness of hearing the curates, whose ministry he had previously regularly attended. On studying the question, he came to the conclusion that it was wrong for him to do so, and this treatise contains his views on that subject. There is also among the Wodrow MSS. vol. xxii. 8vo, no. 2, a paper of his of considerable length, entitled, "Defence of the Convention of Estates, 1689." Its object is to vindicate the Convention of Estates for having declared King James VII. to have forfeited his right to the Crown, and the throne to be vacant.

GEORGE SCOT OF PITLOCHIE.

GEORGE SCOT of Pitlochie, was the son of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet,* by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir James Melvill of Hallhill. He was somewhat of an eccentric character, and though imprisoned in the Bass for Presbyterian principles, which he does not appear ever to have renounced, yet he did not throughout maintain that consistency which we like to find in the history of a sufferer for religion. The first instance in which we meet with him in the history of the prelatie persecution, is in 1674, when, on the 5th of June, he and several others appeared at the bar of the Lords of Council, before whom they had been summoned, to answer for "keeping conventicles and other disorders of that nature." They acknowledged that they had been present at two field conventicles, upon which the Council, "conform to the fifth act of the second session of his Ma-

* Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet was a man of uncommon abilities, and made a great figure in his time. As soon as he became of age, he obtained the office of Director of the Chancery. Being in great favour with King James VI., he had conferred upon him the honour of knighthood in the year 1617, and was appointed a member of the Privy Council. He was also much esteemed by King Charles I., who appointed him one of his Privy Council, and a Senator of the College of Justice. He died in 1670, in the 84th year of his age. Douglas's Baronage, p. 223. He is the author of a curious work, entitled, "Staggering State of Scots Statesmen," which contains sketches of the principal statesmen of Scotland in his day.

jesty's second Parliament, fine each of them in the half of a year's valued rent for each of the said conventicles confessed by them." Scot's fine for conventicles, according to this estimate, amounted to one thousand pounds; and he was besides fined 500 merks "for his impertinent and extravagant carriage, and expressions uttered before his Majesty's Council."* Scot and the others who appeared, were also ordained to be carried to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, in which they were to lie till they paid their respective fines, and longer, should it so please the Council; while letters were ordained to be directed against such as had not appeared, denouncing them rebels for their disobedience. On the 23d of July the same year, he is fined an additional thousand pounds for harbouring and resetting Mr John Welsh.†

After this, he was summoned to appear before the Council to answer for new alleged delinquencies, such as being present at several field conventicles, receiving disorderly baptism for his children, and resetting and corresponding with several persons who were declared rebels and traitors, and others against whom letters of intercommuning had been directed. In this instance he failed to appear, and was therefore declared a fugitive. But being apprehended within the city of Edinburgh, he was brought before the Committee of Council for Public Affairs, and charged with the "said crimes, as also with uttering and venting several insolent expressions against his Majesty's government, and those intrusted by him in the exercise thereof, which was offered instantly [to be] proven against him." Refusing to declare any thing as to the matters for which

* Register of Acts of Privy Council.

† Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 244.

he was impeached, or to give any assurance as to his future good behaviour, the Committee considering him "to be a person of most pernicious and factious practices, and altogether irreclaimable, notwithstanding of all the fair means and endeavours used for that effect, did give order for transporting him to the Isle of the Bass, until the Council shall consider what further course to take with him." This report of the Committee was given in to the Council on the 8th of February 1677 and approved.

After remaining for some months in the Bass, on presenting to the Council a petition for being set at liberty, an order was issued, on the 5th of October 1677, for his being immediately liberated, in regard he had found sufficient security, that within the space of fourteen days after his release he should repair to his own lands, and not go without the bounds thereof, under the pain of two thousand merks Scots money in case of failure, and that he should live orderly, in obedience to law, under the foresaid penalty.*

Nearly two years subsequent to this, letters were raised against Scot before the Privy Council, at the instance of Sir George M'Kenzie of Rosehaugh, his Majesty's Advocate, charging him with having several times since the granting of the said bond, broken his

* Scot, after this, does not appear to have ever again been confined in the Bass. Crichton, in his *Memoirs of John Blackadder* (p. 343), speaks of him as liberated in 1684, which would imply that he was imprisoned there a second time. Crichton's authority is Wodrow, who says in his *History*, (vol. iv. p. 56), under the year 1684,—“At the same diet of Council, [December 24], the laird of Pitlochie is let out of the Bass upon promise to go to the plantations.” But Wodrow has evidently fallen into a mistake from misunderstanding the act of that date, in reference to a petition which Scot presented to the Council. See the act in the *Life of Mr Archibald Riddell*. At that time, and for a considerable time before, Scot was actively engaged about the scheme of forming a plantation abroad; and this scheme seems to have originated entirely with himself.

confinement, in going without the bounds of his own lands, attending conventicles, resetting and corresponding with intercommuned persons, and withdrawing from public ordinances in his own parish church, by which his cautioners had incurred the penalties contained in their bonds ; and declaring that therefore the principal and cautioners respectively, being found guilty of the disorders above written, ought to be proceeded against and punished, conform to the laws and acts of Parliament : and declaring farther, that he and his cautioners ought to be decerned to make payment of the penalties incurred by them, conform to their respective bonds. He appeared before the Council on the 13th of May 1679 ; and on the 14th, the consideration of the libel against him and his cautioners was taken up. Being interrogated if he had been at any conventicles since the bond given by him and his cautioners, he acknowledged that one minister had preached in his house, but refused to give his name. Being farther asked if he had entertained or corresponded with any intercommuned persons, and particularly, if he had entertained John Balfour of Kinloch, he refused to make any declaration on that point, upon which “ the Lords held him as confessed, found the bond given by him and his cautioners forfeited, and ordained the cautioners to make payment of the sum of 3000 merks of the 10,000 merks contained in the bond, to his Majesty’s cash-keeper, betwixt and the last of that month ; and letters of horning to be directed against them for that effect,” but suspended exacting the rest of the sum until it appeared what would be Scot’s future behaviour, and allowed him the period between that and the 22d of the current month to return to his confinement.

As, however, at a subsequent meeting of Council, he

declared upon oath "that he never saw, harboured, reset, or corresponded with John Balfour of Kinloch, David Hackston of Rathillet, or any of those persons who are reputed to be murderers of the Archbishop of St Andrews, at any time since his murder," the fine was remitted.* Here his sufferings for nonconformity terminated. To avoid farther molestation, he appears in future to have lived "regularly," that is, to have attended his own parish church, and refrained from attending conventicles, as well as from having intercourse with outlawed or intercommuned persons.

At last Scot formed a design of emigrating with his family to America, and founding a plantation, which he intended to stock with prisoners banished from this country on account of their Presbyterian principles. With this view he entered into transactions with the Privy Council, which are fully recorded among the registers of their acts, but which are far from creditable, either to his Christian principle, or to his wisdom in the management of his worldly affairs. Being a professed Presbyterian, and one who had suffered in the cause of Presbytery, it is a strange inconsistency to find him entering into negotiations with the government for carrying into banishment and servitude a cargo of his suffering brethren. Sympathy towards the sufferers, reverence for the truths in behalf of which they suffered, indignation at cruelty and oppression, had they predominated in his mind, as they might have been expected to do, would have led him to scorn to pollute his hands by carrying into exile and receiving as slaves men and women, who, so far from deserving punishment, were worthy of admiration for their fearless and persevering adherence to great

* Decrees of Privy Council.

and important principles amidst sore temptations and sufferings. He could not be guiltless in what he did ; for to be the instrument of executing an oppressive and persecuting sentence, is to be partaker in the sin of those who pronounced it. How much more commendable the part acted by William Sutherland, hangman at Irvine ; who, on becoming convinced, from reading the Bible, that the covenanters condemned to death for the Pentland rising were the people of God, and had done nothing worthy of punishment, refused, with the fortitude and resolution of a martyr, to become their executioner ! Though threatened to be tortured in the boots, and to have a cruise full of boiling lead poured upon his hands, though bound to a stake, with a file of musketeers presenting their pieces before him, and assured that he would instantly be shot if he did not consent ; yet this poor and illiterate man, taught by the Spirit of God, was willing to endure all rather than to execute an unjust sentence.* But the desire of enriching himself and his family, the principle evidently pervading the whole of this transaction between Scot and the government, so far prevailed over him as to blind his mind to the iniquity of becoming their agent, in transporting these persecuted individuals ; which was in fact to become a tool in the hands of tyranny. Nor was the scheme at all promising as a means of advancing his temporal interests. Many of the prisoners gifted to him were debilitated and diseased by cruel treatment ; and in that case, the probability of failure being so great, it was a piece of folly, even in a worldly point of view, to lay out money for their transportation and maintenance, and on other things necessary to the undertaking. Indeed, the whole history of this affair seems

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 54.

to confirm the character given of him by Mr William Moncrieff, minister of Largo, who knew him well. "He was," says this excellent man, "a professor, and nothing of vice or immorality known to him, but not deep drawn in religion, and a very foolish and unwise man in any matters he engaged in."*

Besides intending to engage himself in the formation of a plantation, Scot was anxious to obtain for himself and his son, as a gratification for his father's MS. Abbreviate of Charters,† the office of keeper of the Records of New England, as appears from his petitioning the Council to request the King to recommend him to the government of New England for that office, or some other of a suitable kind in that province; which the Council agreed to do.‡

To enable Scot to carry into effect his scheme of forming a plantation, the Council, in November 1684, granted him liberty to transport a hundred prisoners, according to the list given in by him to the clerks of Council, and at the same time ordered that such as should find caution to transport themselves with Scot should be liberated thereupon, to have time to order their affairs.§ To carry these prisoners to their place of des-

* Wodrow MSS. vol. xl. folio, no. 67.

† Scot's father, when director of the Chancery, had, with great care and labour, written out an abbreviate, or short abstracts of charters from the public records from the year 1456; and Scot having been told by those in the profession of the law, "that since many of the registers and charters were miscarried, by which subjects not only want their securities themselves, but likewise adminicles for making them, these MSS. would be useful in supplying that defect, offered to give them to the Lords of Session, upon receiving "some gratification." The Lords entertaining this proposal favourably, wrote to the Duke of Lauderdale to obtain a gratification to Scot, for his care in preserving these documents. But this "gratification" he had never yet obtained. Register of Acts of Privy Council.

‡ Decrets of Privy Council, 2d July 1685.

§ Register of Acts of Privy Council, 12th March 1685. The Council

tinuation, he freighted a Newcastle vessel, whose master's name was Richard Hutton. It would appear that he intended at first to take out to his plantation only such prisoners as were willing to go ; for on the 12th of March 1685, he presented a petition to the Council, supplicating that, as he was "now to go to Stirling, Glasgow, as well as the other prisons, to intimate his design to the prisoners, the Council would order the liberation of such as he should engage to transport with him, they not being heritors above one hundred pounds yearly of valued rent." He was permitted to do as he desired. But whether he succeeded in engaging any of the prisoners in these places, we are not informed. It seems, however, probable, that he had not been very successful, as may be inferred from the facts that the Council afterwards agreed to grant him fifty prisoners from the jails of Edinburgh,* and fifty from Dunnotar Castle ; and that, on obtaining these, he does not seem to have taken into account whether they were willing to go with him or not.† To make up the number promised

afterwards signified that all heritors above one hundred pounds yearly of valued rent were to be excepted.

* The jails of Edinburgh were at this time crowded with prisoners for nonconformity, and vast numbers were banished to his Majesty's plantations. As a specimen of the barbarity of the Council, it may be mentioned, that by their orders many of the men had their left ears cut off by the common hangman ; while the women were burnt on the cheek by a red hot iron marked with certain letters, before they were put on board for transportation, and a surgeon was appointed to be present and to see to their cure. Wodrow's History, vol. iv. pp. 218, 220.

† Mr Archibald Riddell, who was liberated from the Bass on condition of his leaving the country, chose to go out with Scot ; and some others may have preferred to be transported by him rather than another, while a few were induced to leave the country to escape persecution. But there is reason to believe that the great body were taken out by him against their will, and a number protested against his carrying them into banishment and slavery. "I, myself," says James Forsyth, one of the banished, "was carried aboard, by soldiers, of one Richard Hutton's ship, an Englishman, hired by George Scot of Pitlochrie, who suited us from the Coun-

from Dunnotar, the Council ordered seventy-two prisoners, consisting of men and women, to be brought thence to Leith ; and on the 18th of August, they sat in the tolbooth of Leith, and called all the prisoners before them. Those who took the oaths of allegiance and abjuration,* and owned the king's authority, were dismissed ; while those who refused to comply with these impositions were banished " to his Majesty's plantations, and discharged ever to return to this kingdom hereafter, without the King's or the Council's special licence, under the pain of death, to be inflicted on them without mercy ;" and all the above persons, with twenty-three more " formerly sentenced to the plantations, and now prisoners in the tolbooth of Leith," are ordained " to be delivered to Mr George Scot of Pitlochie, and to be by him transported to his Majesty's plantations in East New Jersey, in the ship lying in the roads of Leith now bounding thither, upon his finding sufficient caution to transport the whole of the forenamed persons to the foresaid plantation, and to report a certificate of their landing there, from the governor or deputy-governor of the place, once in September 1686 years, under the penalty of 500 merks for each one of

cil to be his slaves. He told me, if I would give him five pounds sterling for my passage, I should be liberated in America. I told him I would pay money to none to carry me out of my native land, while I had done nothing worthy of banishment, but would protest against him, and all that paid ; and so subscribed a protestation with others, December 4, 1685." Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxvii. 4to. no. 13.

* The oath of abjuration required them to renounce and disown the " Apologetical Declaration and Admonitory Vindication of the true Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, especially anent Intelligencers and Informers," " in so far as it declares war against his Majesty, and asserts that it is lawful to kill such as serves his Majesty in church, state, army, or country." Wodrow's History, vol. iv. pp. 157, 161. The Society people refused to take this oath, because it implied that the paper referred to asserted it to be lawful to commit assassination, which they could not admit that it did.

them in case of failure, sea hazard, mortality, and pirates, being always excepted.”* After being confined a day or two in prison, these individuals were all set on board the vessel in which they were to be transported, and lay in the roads of Leith a fortnight before they set sail.†

The voyage was tedious and disastrous; and as accounts of it, furnished by several of the banished martyrs, have been preserved,‡ we shall collect these different accounts into one narrative, as a specimen of the hardships and sufferings to which those who were banished for their stedfast adherence to the Presbyterian interest were subjected.

The ship set sail on the 5th of September. With a heavy heart these good people left the land of their birth; for though their lives had been made bitter in it with hard bondage, still it was endeared to them by many tender associations, and as they were receding from its shores, leaving behind them many of their dear friends and never again expecting to return, a multitude of melancholy and distressing thoughts arising from the reminiscences of the past, the sorrows of the present, and the uncertainty which hung over the future, would rush into their minds. When the vessel set out, the wind and weather were highly favourable for about eight or ten days, promising a speedy and prosperous voyage. Although the wind did not favour them by blowing from the north and carrying them in that direction, which was judged by all the passengers to be the most wholesome way; yet it was so propitious that before the beginning of October, they reckoned

* Decree of Privy Council; Wodrow's History, vol. iv. pp. 221, 222.

† Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxvii., 4to, no. 165.

‡ Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxiii., folio, no. 117; vol. xxxvi., 4to, no. 65; vol. xxxvi., 4to, no. 66; vol. xxxvii., 4to, nos. 13, 165.

themselves to be about three hundred leagues beyond the coast of England. This fortunate commencement, however, soon received a check ; for after that, they had never a favourable wind of three days' continuance, and in addition to adverse winds they had sometimes to encounter great storms.

Besides the unfavourable state of the weather, the sufferings of their cruel lot were not a little aggravated by the insolence and profanity of the captain of the vessel, the crew, and others. The malignity of these wretches appears to have been particularly excited when the prisoners engaged in devotional exercises, so that, as one of them observes, they "hardly had liberty to go about the worship of God by reason of a wicked crew of seamen, and other vile persons in the ship ;" and the captain of the vessel in particular must have been a man of brutal character, for the same prisoner adds, that he "threw down great planks of wood amongst them in time of worship, by which some narrowly escaped with their life."* Such rude and unfeeling as well as impious behaviour could not fail to excite in these religious people the most painful sensations, and would have rendered their voyage very uncomfortable however fortunate circumstances might otherwise have been.

By the cross winds, and sometimes great storms, to which we have adverted, they were driven to about ten degrees of latitude out of their straight course towards the south. They were thus brought into so warm a climate that it was impossible for them, from the intenseness of the heat, to stay above deck with their ordinary wearing clothes ; and when they went under deck they found it nearly as difficult to remain there,

* James Forsyth's account, Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxvii., 4to, no. 165.

the confined air arising from the crowded state of the cabins, together with the heat, being almost suffocating. About this time a pestilential spotted fever unfortunately broke out and raged with appalling violence. It especially attacked and proved fatal to such of the prisoners as had been in the great vault of Dunnotar, not a few of whom were sick when they came on board, in consequence of the almost unexampled privations and hardships which they had endured in that abominable place of confinement.* But it was not limited to them. About a month after their setting sail, it was very general in the ship, and became so universal that none escaped it except two or three. So great too was the mortality, that it was usual for three or four dead bodies to be thrown over board in a day, and when any

* Mr John Fraser, minister at Alness, in the Presbytery of Dingwall, after the Revolution, who was banished with Scot's ship, and who was one of the prisoners of Dunnotar, in describing the great misery of himself and his fellow-prisoners there, says, "After our arrival at Dunnotar Castle, some having escaped by the way, there were 166 prisoners imprisoned in one vault, and that of men and women. This vault was full of sand that was higher than our ankles, and it had but one window. We could not sit without pressing and leaning upon one another. This was not only an inhuman barbarous usage, men and women being greatly straitened as to the necessity of nature, but such as threatened our speedy death. After the cruel governor had kept us in this plight two days, he ordered forty of the men to be removed to another vault, which being but very small, and having therein only a small slip for light, we were not much less straitened there than in the greater vault, being greatly endangered through want of air and our confined breath." Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxvii., 4to, no. 165. In these two vaults were the most of these prisoners pent up almost the whole of that summer, without air, without room, either to lie or walk, and without any comfort except what religion supplied. So suffocating did the place become from the want of air and from offensive smells, that several of them died, and the wonder is, that any survived such barbarous treatment. The governor's lady, indeed, on visiting the prisoners, prevailed with her husband to remove twelve of the men from the forty to a better place, and the women from the large vault into two rooms, which afforded much relief. But still their hardships were great. Wodrow's History, vol. iv. p. 324.

recovered from it, it was reckoned a singular mercy. The number altogether who died was about seventy ; among whom were the most of the seamen,* Scot who had freighted the vessel, and his excellent lady, whose memory is mentioned with respect by all who refer to her death. Mr Riddell, in this trying situation, acted with a sympathy and zeal worthy of all praise, doing all he could to comfort the sick and dying by administering to them the consolations of religion.†

The distressing condition of these suffering people was aggravated from scanty and unwholesome food, the flesh which the captain of the ship allowed them being in a putrid state before they left Leith Roads, so that within a few days it was scarcely fit "for dogs to eat." Their condition was also aggravated from their meeting with some of those great storms which take place in the mighty Atlantic, so that, as one of them observes, they "expected to have been all swallowed up in the midst of the sea's boisterous waves, and sometimes they shipped in so great seas as made some of them to swim above decks." It was truly appalling to hear the groans of the dying mingled with the roar of the waves, and to witness the raging pestilence busy at its work of death, while that vast ocean, lashed into tremendous confusion, was threatening every moment to engulf them. In addition to this, they were in great danger from a leak in the vessel, which broke out on two different occasions. In one of these instances they found it almost impos-

* "The leading men of the ship were all removed by death, except the captain and boatswain." Mr John Fraser's account, Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxvii., 4to, no. 165. "There died likewise six seamen who wanted not victuals nor were strangers to the sea ; which made some of them say upon their deathbed, that the hand of God was pursuing them for meddling with us, though many of the prisoners died from nature and sickness." James Forsyth's account, Ibid. vol. xxxvii., 4to, no. 13.

† Mr Riddell's wife was also cut off by the fever.

sible to overcome it, though the most of those on board who were able were alternately employed at both pumps, night and day, for the period of nearly a fortnight ; but at length they succeeded in getting it stopped with a little oakum, just when they were reduced to the last extremity, and all of them imagined they were going to the bottom.

The awful mortality which had taken place in the vessel, it might be supposed, would, for a time at least, have loosened the grasp, and softened the unrelenting heart of avarice. But it was not so. The ship being frequently beat back from East New Jersey by stormy north-west winds, the captain, as if unimpressed by all that had happened, proposed to Scot's son-in-law, Mr John Johnston,* who had now the disposal of the prisoners,† and who seems to have been equally avaricious with the captain, to steer the ship for Jamaica or Virginia, offering, in that case, to purchase the whole of them from him, and urged, in support of this proposal, that a higher price would be obtained for them there than at New Jersey. But while they were thus treating, and were about to come to an agreement, the wind shifted to the quarter favourable for their entering New Jersey, which led the captain and Johnston, to the great advantage of the passengers and prisoners, to alter their purpose. The propitious gale carried them straight into Sandy Hook, their desired haven, on a Sabbath morning, being the 13th day of December, after they

* Mr John Johnston, who was married to Scot's daughter, is called by Fountainhall "a druggist," and represented as joint undertaker with Scot to take the banished prisoners to East New Jersey. Fountainhall's Notes, p. 144.

† In one of the accounts of this voyage, it is said, "Pitlochie and his lady, died at sea, and he gave the prisoners for a tocher to his daughter." Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxvii. 4to, no. 141.

had been about fifteen weeks at sea, and they were taken ashore on the Wednesday following. Many were then sick, and one of their number, Mr John Hutchison, whom Mr Fraser calls "a worthy gentleman of the West of Scotland," died that same day in a small boat as they were taking him and others to land. He was the first corpse that was buried after their arrival, and his death was much lamented by all who knew him. Several died soon after, exhausted by the hardships they had endured before leaving Scotland, and on that fatal voyage.

Johnston had once intended not to allow any of them to leave the vessel, until they had first subscribed a "voluntary declaration," as he termed it, engaging to serve him for four years. This they all not only decidedly refused to do, but united in a protestation against their banishment, in which they gave a narrative of the hardships they had endured for the sake of conscience, both during that voyage and before they had embarked. Johnston and the captain, however, seeing them in a dying condition, took them ashore till they recovered. On landing, they had no acquaintances or friends to greet or welcome them. They were strangers in the land, knowing nobody and known by none. The people who lived in the two or three towns nearest the coast, and who did not enjoy the gospel, shewed them little or no kindness, but what they shewed for their money. The inhabitants of one town, however, who were blessed with a gospel ministry, on knowing that they were sufferers for the cause of civil and religious freedom, compassionated their condition, and liberally supplied their wants. "They shewed them kindness at their first arrival, and after the banished sufferers were able to travel, sent men and horses six-

teen miles to convey them to their own houses, where they were freely and kindly entertained that winter." In the spring following, Johnston, upon the ground that these prisoners had been gifted to his father-in-law by the Scottish government, pursued them for four years' service before the court of that province. They were accordingly laid in prison till the case was tried ; and the governor called a jury to sit in judgment upon it. The jury having found that the prisoners did not of their own accord embark in that vessel, nor bargained with Scot for money or service, returned a verdict in favour of the prisoners, so that Johnston was deprived of all right to their service. Being thus declared free-men, who had power to dispose of their time and labour as they chose, the greater number of them, fearing that farther means would be employed by Johnston to get them as his property, left New Jersey ; and going to New England, which during the earlier part of that century had become an asylum for many of the English persecuted non-conformists, they were there kindly treated and employed according to their several occupations. Some of them, though they had departed with but slender hopes of again seeing their native land, returned to it at the memorable Revolution, when a happier state of things was introduced.

Such is the history of this calamitous voyage. How much did these banished prisoners suffer for faithfulness to God and conscience ! At home, we see them oppressed, trodden down, and thrown into dungeons, where they met with treatment which stands unequalled save in the annals of the prisons of the Inquisition ; and as, on their banishment from their native country, we trace their progress to the land of their exile and bondage, we find the great bulk of them, when in the

midst of the deep, and cribbed up in a small vessel, cut off by a pestilential sickness, and consigned to the ocean as their grave. Surely these persons, like many others who perished in a similar manner, are as much entitled to a place in the martyrology of the Church of Scotland, as any of those who died by the hands of the public executioner. They exhibited hardly less fortitude, constancy, and faith. They fell not less the victims of persecution, and on that merciless government lies the guilt of their untimely death, so that as one of the surviving prisoners observed, their "blood will be found on the enemy's skirts, as really as if they had shed it in the Grassmarket on gibbets." Over their melancholy fate we linger with sympathy and regret. Not so over the total defeat of the scheme of Scot to stock a plantation with them, and enrich himself and his family with the sweat of their brow. To endeavour to advance the temporal interests of himself and his family, was a laudable enough object, to be sure, had he employed only honourable means; but his scheme was founded on a violation of the most obvious claims of justice and humanity. It therefore deserved the disastrous issue it met with; and this may well teach us the hazard of engaging, from the love of wealth, in enterprises upon which sound moral and religious principle frowns. "It was well known," says one of the banished, "that the said George Scot thought to make himself and his family rich by the suffering remnant of the Church of Scotland, and it was well known that that way was the means to bring him to death and ruined his estate and the family's. He sold his land to pay the freight, and what remained, his daughter spent in pursuing us, as I was informed."*

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxvii., 4to, no. 13.

THOMAS HOG.

THOMAS HOG was born about the beginning of the year 1628. His parents, who were somewhat above the common rank, resided in Tain, a burgh in Ross-shire. Resolving to give their son a liberal education, they sent him to the grammar school, probably of his native parish, where he acquired the elements of literature, and gave indication of more than ordinary capacity, united with proportioned diligence and proficiency. Being of an active and energetic mind, he was much addicted to the innocent amusements common to boys of his age ; but these neither so engrossed his mind as to divert his attention from his lessons, nor were they accompanied by any thing vicious or unbecoming. After acquiring the requisite initiatory instruction at the grammar school, he was sent to Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he prosecuted his studies with distinguished success ; and, on completing his course, received the degree of Master of Arts with the unanimous approbation of the professors.

According to his own belief, Hog did not become the subject of renewing grace till after he had finished his course of academical education. Previous to this, his life was indeed blameless, and even exemplary, so that

he was regarded, by all the good who knew him, as a truly pious young man ; while his pleasing manners, affability of address, and varied accomplishments, rendered him generally beloved. He attended private fellowship meetings for prayer and Christian conference. He was assiduous in the acquisition of religious knowledge, in which his attainments, for his age and opportunities, were very considerable ; and cordially espousing the cause of Presbytery and the Covenant, he felt as if prepared to submit with resolution to whatever sufferings Providence might call him in its defence. Still it was his decided impression in after life, that he was all the while a stranger to the saving work of the Spirit of God. All the particulars now mentioned, he was satisfied, were by themselves no evidence of a gracious state ; and he had never been penetrated with that sense of his depravity and misery by nature which is invariably produced in all on whom the Holy Spirit savingly operates. But at the period referred to, he fell under such deep convictions of his guilt and danger as almost brought him to the brink of despair. This was followed by such discoveries of the glory of Christ in his person and offices, as ravished his soul, produced cordial trust, and rendered him willing to renounce, suffer, and hazard every thing for his sake. To this he looked back as the important epoch when he passed from spiritual death to spiritual life.

At this time he was chaplain to the Earl of Sutherland, in whose family he discharged with fidelity his trust, and felt himself very comfortable. The lady of that nobleman, in particular, who was an eminent Christian, and much experienced in religion, had a high regard for him, and treated him with the greatest kindness and respect. While in this situation, he was the

instrument of converting a young gentleman of the name of Monro, a relative of the family, and a frequent visitor. This gentleman, who was strictly moral in his conduct, though a stranger to true religion, attracted by the amiable dispositions and high accomplishments of Hog, took great delight in his society ; in which, however, he wasted the time by idle, vain, and useless conversation. Hog, grieved at squandering away time in so unprofitable a manner, and that their interviews were so unproductive of good to either of them, came to the determination to speak freely, though prudently, to his friend on the subject, and embraced an early opportunity for that purpose. The gentleman listened with the closest attention to the grave advice of his mentor, and so far from shewing any symptoms of displeasure, felt that Hog had performed an act of true friendship, for which he ought to be thankful. " Sir," said he, " I always looked on you as my true friend, and now you have given me the best demonstration of it. By what you have said, I am persuaded of the evil of the sin charged on me, and of my danger by it ; and now that you have obliged me beyond what any have done hitherto, I beg a continuance of your favour, and that I may have free access to converse with you afterwards." Their future intercourse became more frequent, and their conversation, turning chiefly, if not wholly, upon subjects relating to the soul and eternity, this gentleman underwent an entire change of character, as appeared from the whole of his future life, which was eminently adorned by the Christian virtues, and particularly by those opposite to the blemishes for which Hog remonstrated with him ; so that, by his prudence and wisdom, he became eminently qualified for composing differences, and was frequently chosen by gentlemen of his ac-

quaintance, when they disagreed, as an arbiter by whose decision they were ready to abide. The cordial intimacy between Hog and him thus ripened into a Christian friendship, which continued not only uninterrupted, but was more and more cemented, improved and sweetened, by a free interchange of thoughts on those subjects which related to their eternal peace. So strong was the affection of this gentleman to Hog, that he felt an ardent desire to end his days on earth under his roof; which he actually did, after Hog was settled at Kiltearn. Having, some time before his last illness, though in perfect health, been impressed with a strong presentiment that his death was approaching, he paid a visit to the friend whom he so warmly loved, and their meeting was of the most endearing description. After they had been some short time together, Monro surprised Hog by the following address: "Sir, my course is well-nigh finished, and I am upon my entrance into a state of eternal rest. The Lord hath his own way of giving the watchful Christian previous warning concerning the end of his warfare; and I, being so privileged, have been seriously pondering where it may be most convenient to breathe out my last, and quietly lay down this tabernacle: and seeing, after deliberation, I can find no place or company so fit as with you, I have adventured to come and die with you." Monro being at that time in good health, Hog endeavoured to divert his mind from such an idea. But it had taken too firm a hold on his mind to be dislodged; and the event proved that the presentiment, however it may be accounted for, was too well founded, for in the course of a few days, he was seized by a fever which terminated in death.

Hog was licensed to preach the gospel in the 26th

year of his age, and such was his acceptability, that before the lapse of a year he received calls from several parishes. He preferred that of Kiltearn, although its temporal emoluments were less than those of some of the competing parishes, because he understood that some in that parish were awakened to a concern about their eternal interests, and that several gentlemen in it, especially Sir Robert Monro of Fowlis,* were friends to religion. His ordination took place in the year 1654 or 1655 ; and receiving a general and cordial welcome from the parishioners, he commenced his ministry with the most favourable prospects of success.

Deeply impressed with a sense of the responsibility of the ministerial office, Hog entered upon the discharge of its duties with diligence and devotedness. As his parishioners, who had scarcely ever enjoyed the gospel before, were very ignorant, he was at great pains in circulating the catechisms then in use, and other compendiums of divine truth, for their instruction. He also spent much time in family visitation. Nor was he remiss in exercising a careful inspection over the morals of the people. Vice in all its forms he was zealous in repressing. The many heathenish and superstitious customs which prevailed among them, such as charming and witchcraft, he exerted himself to abolish.† To assist him in this important work, he remodelled the session, by ordaining for elders such as from their piety and judgment were best qualified for that important office. In the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline among that ignorant, rude, and profane people, much firmness

* Wodrow, speaking of Sir Robert Monro, says, he was "a gentleman of great piety and sense, and head of all the Monroes, and Sheriff of the shire." *Analecta*, vol. ii. pp. 162-171.

† *Ibid*, vol. ii. pp. 162-171.

and decision of character were required ; nor was Hog wanting in these qualities. Every attempt made to weaken his own authority as a minister, as well as that of the session, he was prepared resolutely to resist. As a proof of this, the following anecdote, may be adduced :—One day he had been led, from the subject of his discourse, to dwell at some length upon the sin of murder. Two gentlemen, Colonel Monro of Lumlair,* and another, taking it into their heads that he was aiming at them, became indignant, and, in the height of their passion, resolved to go in to the session and fix a quarrel upon him. The courage of the other gentleman failing him on the way when he reached the churchyard, he returned ; but the Colonel went alone, and intruding himself into the session, addressing himself to the Laird of Fowlis, one of its members, said, “ Sir, you have brought in a stranger, or one of the new lights among us, and he has slighted several gentlemen who might have been useful in his session, and brought in a company of websters and tailors into it, besides, every day almost he rails and abuses us from the pulpit ; and one day in particular he charged me with bloodshed and murder ;” adding, “ It is true I was in the army, and such things as these cannot well be avoided.” To this unprovoked attack Hog was not disposed tamely to submit. Judging, that if behaviour of this nature were allowed to pass without censure, it would impair or destroy his usefulness as a minister of the gospel, by encouraging others to insult and abuse him whenever they took offence at his faithfulness in reproof and repressing sin, addressing himself to the Laird of Fowlis, he said, “ Sir, this gentleman is come in to affront me

* He was an heritor of the parish of Kiltearn, and Colonel or Commander of the militia in the shire of Ross.

and the session ; I knew before I came here that this was a stiff and untowardly people, and I told you so much, but I had God's call and your promise and hand to assist me in bearing down sin, and maintaining the authority of the session, and discipline. I declare I had not in my eye this gentleman who has come in this insolent manner to abuse us, nor till he has now owned it, did I know he was guilty of bloodshed. And now I require you, under pain of perjury to God and breach of promise to me, to take a course with this insolence, and as sheriff to punish this affront." Fowlis, strongly disapproving of the Colonel's behaviour, told him, that he behoved to give the minister and session satisfaction, otherwise he would immediately cause him to be arrested ; upon which the Colonel's courage fell. Fowlis asked Hog what satisfaction he desired, whether in body or goods. Hog said he desired none of these, but as the affront had been open, he thought it reasonable that the offender should, next Lord's day, appear before the congregation and acknowledge his offence. Accordingly, Hog preached that day upon Jeremiah i. 18, 19, and after narrating the circumstances of the case, called the Colonel up, who acknowledged his offence and received his rebuke. It is said, that this proved the cause of leading him to serious reflection, and that he afterwards became an eminent and useful Christian.*

Hog's pious labours among that people were productive of the happiest effects. Mr William Stuart, who succeeded him as minister of Kiltearn after the Revolution, says, " His people were awakened to hear, and he was encouraged to preach Christ Jesus unto them, so that the dry bones began to revive, and pleasant blossoms and hopeful appearances displayed themselves

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. ii. pp. 162-171.

every where through the parish." When a considerable number were thus brought in good earnest to attend to the things that belonged to their eternal peace, he recommended them to join together in private meetings for prayer and Christian conference, as a means eminently conducive to their spiritual improvement, and over these meetings he exercised a special superintendence, encouraging and assisting them in every way in his power.

Hog continued for several years to pursue without disturbance the successful discharge of his pastoral duties, growing in experience, and acquiring a deeper hold on the respect and affections of the people. But after the restoration of Charles II., an interruption was put to his ministry at Kiltarn. To such a height did the controversy between the resolutioners and the protesters* reach, that in those Presbyteries and Synods where any of them had a considerable majority, they went in many cases to great lengths in censuring their opponents. In October and November 1660, the Synod

* The resolutioners and protesters were two parties formed in the Church of Scotland, in consequence of certain resolutions agreed upon by the Commission of the General Assembly, and afterwards approved of by the Assembly itself, with respect to the admission into places of power and trust in the army and state, such as had by various acts of Parliament been excluded on account of their malignancy or opposition to the covenant and liberties of the nation, provided they gave satisfaction to the Church. Those who approved of these resolutions were called "Resolutioners;" those who were opposed to them were called "Anti-resolutioners" or "Protesters," from their having given in or adhered to a protestation against the lawfulness of the Assembly held July 1651 at St Andrews and adjourned to Dundee, by which these resolutions were ratified. The protestation was given in by the famous Samuel Rutherford, and signed by twenty-two members. Future events shewed the impolicy of these resolutions. The men who were admitted by them into places of power and trust in the army and state, became, as the protesters always predicted, the persecutors of the Church. Had the counsels of the protesters prevailed, the twenty-eight years' persecution might not have existed.

of Merse and Teviotdale deposed three or four of their protesting brethren. The Synod of Aberdeen and the Synods of Ross and Murray acted in a similar manner towards three or four of their number.* To the Synod of Ross Hog belonged, and in 1661 they inflicted on him the censure of deposition ostensibly because he adhered to the protesting party. Never was a church censure pronounced upon so slender grounds. His ministry at Kiltarn they well knew had been a diligent and laborious one, as well as abundantly blessed in reclaiming many from ignorance and sin, to the saving knowledge and practice of the truth. To the soundness of his doctrine, they could make no objections. His whole conduct too was so exemplary and unimpeachable, that it lay beyond the reach of malice. And although in the controversy between the resolutioners and protesters he took the side of the latter, yet, so far from being violent, he had exhibited much moderation and forbearance. But how flagrantly will men prostitute ecclesiastical censures under the influence of personal animosity ! That Synod, lying in the distant north, felt but slightly the genial influence of the Second Reformation, and the great majority being hostile to the Covenant, and ready in ecclesiastical matters to conform to the court, they disliked Hog, whose character and principles were so different from their own. One of his brethren in particular, Mr Murdoch M'Kenzie, who secretly had an eye to the bishoprick of Murray, dreading from a man of such strict Presbyterian principles, superior talents, and decision of character, formidable opposition to the darling object of his heart, wished him removed out of the way. Accordingly, the deposition of Hog was resolved upon, and the ground the Synod

* Continuation of the Life of Robert Blair by Row.

selected on which to proceed against him, was his favouring the views of the protesters. When he appeared before the Synod, the moderator, who was Murdoch M'Kenzie, demanded what he thought of the protestation against the lawfulness of the Assembly of St Andrews and Dundee. Hog with much caution and calmness replied, that as he lived at a great distance from the scene where that controversy was agitated, he had not much occasion to meddle with it, nor had he done so. This answer not being judged satisfactory, he was farther asked, whether he accounted it a just and reasonable deed. Knowing what use they would make of a declaration of his sentiments, he declined to give an answer,—either to own or to disclaim the protestation. On his being removed, the moderator addressed the Synod as follows: “The brother who has been before us, is certainly known to be a great man; but as the king has espoused the defence of that Assembly against which the protestation was given in, we must go on with our work, and cannot spare any, however high their standing, who favour that protestation.” When again called in, Hog was required judicially to disown the protestation against that Assembly. Refusing to do any such thing, it was moved that he should be deposed. No time was given him to deliberate; no attempt was made to convince him of his alleged error; the sentence was immediately proposed, agreed to, and pronounced. But unprincipled men sometimes betray, in perpetrating an act of injustice, the violence they inflict on their own conscience, and the respect they inwardly feel for the victim of their vengeance. It was strikingly so in the present instance. Hog himself was wont to observe, that the sentence was pronounced with a peculiar air of veneration, as if they had been

consecrating him a prelate ; and that the moderator, as if conscience stricken, so lost his self-possession, as to speak perfect nonsense, in a sort of consolatory speech addressed to him after the pronouncing of the sentence, reminding him among other things, that “ the Lord Jesus Christ had suffered great wrong from the Scribes and Pharisees.”* But Hog, when thus persecuted by his brethren in the ministry, so far from being discouraged, rejoiced that he was counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Jesus. How he acted immediately after his deposition we are not informed. He very likely disregarded the sentence, and continued to discharge his ministerial duties as before.

He was, however, forced to leave his charge in 1662, for refusing to conform to Prelacy. Before leaving his people he delivered a farewell sermon, in which he took God and their own consciences to witness, that he had not shunned to declare to them the whole counsel of God. He is also reported to have said, “ that the storm would be of long continuance ; but that, after all, the sky would clear ; and that he would live to see it, and be called to his own charge again, as minister of Kiltarn, and die with them.”† Whether he would ever again be permitted, in the providence of God, to exercise his ministry in that place, he could not, it is obvious, foresee, without being possessed of a prophetic gift. That gift he was believed by many to possess ; and numerous instances have been adduced of his having exer-

* This information was communicated to Wodrow in a letter from Mr James Hog of Carnock, March 23, 1720. Wodrow MSS., vol. xxx., 4to, no. i. James Hog received the account from an eye-witness ; see also Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 129.

† Mr Stuart, who succeeded Hog in Kiltarn after the Revolution, gives this account, and says that the truth of it was attested by several old men who were elders in his parish.

cised it. To these alleged prophecies, some of the remarks made on the prophecies of Alexander Peden are equally applicable,—to which we refer the reader.* In the present case, there may be some mistake as to what Hog actually said. He perhaps expressed a hope that, though the storm should last long, he might, nevertheless survive it, and after it had spent its fury, be restored to the people who were so dear to him ; and this, being but indistinctly remembered, might, after his return to his old parish, subsequently to the Revolution, be represented by the good men who heard the statement, as a prediction, and the more especially, as he was regarded by many as gifted with the spirit of prophecy. In the same discourse, he earnestly exhorted his people to steadfastness, and warned them of the apostasy. “ If any of you,” said he, “ shall decline from that good way, and these truths wherein you have been taught, and shall comply with the wicked designs now carried on, I take heaven and earth to be witnesses against you ; I take the stones of these walls I preach in, every word that was spoken, and every one of you, to be witnesses against another.” These solemn admonitions were not without effect ; “ for there was not a parish in Scotland which complied less with the corruptions and defections of the time than his did.”

After his ejection he had invitations to come to reside at several places, and he was for some time at a loss whither he would go ; but at length he resolved to remove to Knockgaudy, near Auldearn in Murrayshire, upon the invitation of the Laird of Park, who had offered him a house there, and every facility in his power for the exercise of his ministry. Here he preached in his own private house ; and so eminently blessed were

* See p. 55.

his labours, that after he came to that place, there were thirty or forty who could give a distinct account of the saving work of God's Spirit upon their souls.* This success encouraged him to dispense the ordinance of the Lord's Supper ; and a considerable number of the devout in that part of the country joined in that solemn ordinance. The occasion was accompanied with signal tokens of the divine presence ; and the communicants returned to their homes refreshed in spirit and rejoicing in the Lord.

Murdoch M'Kenzie, now bishop of Murray, Hog's old friend, kept a watchful eye over his conduct, and finding that he continued to preach in defiance of the sentence of deposition pronounced against him by the Synod of Ross, and in defiance of the acts of Parliament and Council against nonconforming ministers, sent information to the Privy Council, that measures might be taken to reduce him to silence. On receiving this intelligence, the Council, on the 30th of July 1668, grant commission to the Earl of Murray and Lord Duffus, to apprehend and imprison him in Forres ; and being apprehended, he lay in the tolbooth of that place for some time. While there he was frequently visited by persons of all classes, and his manners and conversation produced generally on these visitors a strong impression in his favour, removing prejudices and conciliating good will and esteem. " About Mr Thomas Hog," says Mrs Ross, " I was kept still praying, and got many promises of his deliverance ; and was tried not only with improbabilities, but with what seemed contrary to my expectation, which proved trying and constant exercise : but the Lord comforted me with these things ; 1st, That it was more for the Lord's glory that he was there,

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. ii. pp. 162-171.

where he had greater opportunity of a public testimony, having frequent visits from all ranks and airths of the country ; whereas formerly he lived obscure, and in a private place. 2dly, It was for his greater honour, not only by making known what of God was in him, but by discovering him to be another thing than what he was represented to be, viz. unconvertible ; whereas he was found to be very affable for the edification of all that came to visit him.”* At length, contrary to his expectation, he was set at liberty, through an order procured by the Earl of Tweeddale, simply upon his giving bond to appear before the Council when called.† Nor was the bishop of the bounds anxious any longer to detain him, finding that since his imprisonment he had been more free in speaking against the prelates than before, his opportunities being greater than formerly.‡ After this he preached in his own private house for eight years with remarkable success, many being converted by his instrumentality, while “ ministers about did likewise wax bold, by his example, to fall about the work of preaching. He was also one of the first that licensed ministers in Scotland after he was put out of his kirk.§ And great was the blessing he proved, not only by his walk to take off the reproach from the way of God, that he who was before him had brought upon it, but by bringing many to Christ of as lively professors as ever I did see, or expect to see again.”||

Being anew delated to the Council in 1674, as following “ seditious and disorderly practices,” he was publicly charged at the market-cross of the principal towns

* Memoirs of Mrs Ross, p. 32.

† Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 112.

‡ Memoirs of Mrs Ross, p. 33.

§ Mr James Fraser of Brea was probably the first whom Hog and his recusant brethren in the north licensed after their ejection. See p. 130.

|| Memoirs of Mrs Ross, p. 33.

in the south and west, to appear before the Council on the 16th of July that year, to answer to the complaint of having kept conventicles, under the pain of rebellion. On his not compearing, the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council "ordain letters to be directed to a messenger-at-arms, to denounce him his Majesty's rebel, and to put him to the horn;" and on the 6th of August 1675, they issue letters of intercommuning against him.* While these proceedings are going on in the south, he is diligently employed in his ministerial work in the north. A few particulars concerning him at this time, are preserved in the diary of a pious female who highly valued him, and who enjoyed his friendship. From this document we learn that about the close of the year 1674, he was visited with a severe sickness. This female, who was then living in the south, has the following entries in reference to him:—"Another particular discovered to me wherein I was called of God to yield to, was the sickness and threatened death (in my apprehension) of the blessed servant of God, Mr Thomas Hog, which was a duty above my strength. I desired to lay the weight of this upon the Lord, who alone could do this in me, and he had compassion on me, and strengthened my heart with that word of Paul, 'Ephroditus was sick unto death, but the Lord had mercy on him, and on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow.'" "December 21. 1674, it pleased the Lord to send me the comfortable news of the recovery of his blessed servant, by a letter under his own hand."† Writing about the beginning of September 1675, shortly after he was intercommuned, she says, being then in the north, "The Lord dealt very boun-

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 243, 244, 286.

† Diary of Jane Collace, Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxi. 8vo, no. 7.

tifully with my soul, though we were deprived that day of sermon, and I was privileged before great persons, who came to seek, and found not; and I got as useful a sermon, by way of conference, from His servant, Mr Thomas Hog, as almost any I have heard, which proved to me both enlightening, strengthening, and comforting. The subject was, that the various conditions of the people, or child of God, were decreed from all eternity, and the ground of that determination was unchangeable love." "On Saturday evening [I returned] from visiting Mr Thomas Hog, and did see the Lord's kindness in blessing the means appointed for his health. I thought it revived my spirits a little." Again, about the close of October 1675, she says, "The next Lord's day I was much strengthened and confirmed of my duty of waiting in a sermon by His servant, Mr Thomas Hog, who had been long restrained, but then got a large commission, with much confidence, to vindicate the truth."*

About the beginning of the year 1677,† Hog was apprehended and imprisoned in the north. The Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Public Affairs, on receiving intelligence of this, order him to be transported from sheriff to sheriff to the tolbooth of Edinburgh. The Council, at their meeting on the 1st of February 1677, approve of the Committee's proceedings, and in their act call him "a noted keeper of conventicles, who is declared fugitive and intercommuned." Hog was not unprepared to suffer whatever might be the will of God, and on this occasion he said to some who were with him, "I thank my God, this messenger

* Diary of Jane Collace.

† In the Memoirs of Hog, Cheap Pub. of the Free Church of Scotland, it is 1676 instead of 1677.

was most welcome to me." Being brought to Edinburgh, he was called before the Council ; and refusing to come under an obligation not to preach, he was sent to the Bass. Not long after his imprisonment, his health, through the cold and damp air of the place, together with his close confinement, soon became affected, and he was seized with a dangerous bloody flux. A physician being called to visit him from Edinburgh, expressed it as his opinion, that his recovery was hopeless, unless he were removed from his place of confinement, and advised him to petition the Council for temporary liberty. Hog having some scruples about doing this, the physician, of his own accord, and without consulting him in the matter, drew up a petition in his behalf to the Council, expressed in very strong terms. Some of the lay lords of Council, upon the reading of the petition, were disposed to grant its prayer, and pleaded in Hog's behalf that, when at liberty, he had lived more peaceably than other Presbyterian ministers, not perambulating the country as they were in the habit of doing. But Archbishop Sharp, as if inspired with the rancour and malignity of an evil spirit, urged that the prisoner was in a capacity to do more hurt to their interests, sitting in his elbow chair, than twenty others could do by traversing the whole country ; that if the justice of God was pursuing him, to remove him from the world, the clemency of the government should not interpose to hinder it ; and that, if there was a place in the Bass worse than another, he should be put there. This motion being seconded by another prelate, and put to the vote, it was carried that Hog should be shut up in the closest prison in the Bass. When the act of Council was communicated to the good man, he raised himself up, with some difficulty, in his bed to

read it ; and on learning its import, feeling that to subject him to the hardships of such a confinement, in his present state of health, was almost equivalent to signing his death-warrant, he said it was as severe as if Satan himself had penned it. In execution of the sentence, he was carried down to a low filthy dungeon ; and to all appearance his speedy death was inevitable. But when he found no mercy at the hands of man, he looked by faith and prayer to Him “ who hears the groaning of the prisoner ;” and to the wonder of all, he in a short time completely recovered. Hog never afterwards shewed any resentment at Sharp for this savage treatment, but when speaking of him, used to say merrily, “ Commend him to me for a good physician !”

About the beginning of October 1677, Hog was brought from the Bass to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and an act of Council, at the recommendation of the Committee for Public Affairs, was passed in his favour on the 9th of that month, ordaining him to “ be set at liberty, upon his finding caution to confine himself to Kintyre ; and that within a fortnight after his liberation he should go to the said place of confinement, and keep the same, under the penalty of two thousand merks.” But it would appear that this act was not carried into effect, and that he was again sent back prisoner to the Bass,* where he lay till July 1679, when he was set at liberty, along with several other ministers, simply upon the condition of his finding security to ap-

* Fraser of Brea was about the same time recommended by the Council's Committee to be liberated, upon his giving bond to appear when called ; and yet, through the particular animosity of Sharp, he was continued in the Bass. Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 356.

pear before the Council when called, under the penalty of ten thousand merks Scots in case of failure.*

Hog, on being released, immediately resumed the exercise of his ministerial function, and he does not appear to have met with renewed molestation till November 1683, when letters were raised against him at the instance of Sir George M'Kenzie of Rosehaugh, his Majesty's Advocate, accusing him of having, "notwithstanding his Majesty's said favour, returned to his former seditious and disorderly practices," and charging him and Sir Hugh Campbell, his surety, to appear personally before the Council on the 8th of that month, to answer to the premises, under the pain of rebellion; and farther charging Sir Hugh Campbell to bring "with him, exhibit, and produce before the Lords of Council the person of the said Mr Thomas Hog, to answer as aforesaid, under the said penalty of ten thousand merks." When Hog, in obedience to this summons, appeared, his Majesty's Advocate referred it to his oath whether or not he was guilty of conventicles, or such like disorders, since his Majesty's late act of indemnity. Hog refusing to give his oath, the Council held him as having "confessed, and therefore fined him in the sum of five thousand merks Scots, and ordained him to be committed prisoner within the tolbooth of Edinburgh until he made payment of the fine, and found caution not to exercise any part of the ministerial function, or otherwise to depart forth of the kingdom at such a time as the Council should appoint, and never to return without the King's or the Council's licence, and that un-

* See the circumstances connected with the liberation of these prisoners in the notice of William Bell, p. 118. Sir Hugh Campbell of Caddell became surety for Hog.

der the penalty of five thousand merks Scots in case of failure."*

On the 3d of January 1684, Hog presented a petition to the Council, representing his willingness "to give obedience to the Council's sentence, by leaving the kingdom, and not returning without licence under the foresaid penalty; and therefore humbly supplicating to be set at liberty, upon his enacting himself to depart out of the kingdom betwixt and such time as the Council should think fit to appoint." The Council having heard and considered this petition, "give order and warrant to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to set him at liberty upon his finding sufficient caution that, within a month after his liberation, he shall leave the kingdom, and not return without his Majesty's or the Council's special licence, under the penalty of five thousand merks; and that in the mean time, till his removal, he shall live orderly, and not keep any conventicles."†

With this last condition, Hog felt that he could not conscientiously comply, and told the Council, that being under much frailty of body, it was not likely he would be able to preach; but as he had his commission from God, he would not bind up himself one hour if the Lord called him and gave him strength. Accordingly, being only allowed forty-eight hours for removing himself out of the kingdom, he ordered a coach to take him up at the tolbooth door and set off for Berwick, where he remained till 1685, when he went to London, with some thoughts of embarking for Carolina by the first opportunity. But in this he was disappointed. The report of Monmouth's intended invasion being then current, Hog, shortly after his arrival in London, was apprehended on suspicion of being connected with

* Decrees of Privy Council.

† Ibid.

the conspiracy of that nobleman ; and on refusing the English oaths tendered to him, he, with his servant William Balloch, were thrown into prison.* Here he had to support himself and his servant ; and besides this, paid a considerable sum weekly for a room to himself, in order to avoid being put in the same prison with felons, by which he was reduced to great pecuniary difficulties.† On being set at liberty, he retired to Holland. When there he was introduced to the Prince of Orange, who was then contemplating his accession to the English throne, and at whose court the expatriated Scottish clergy received much attention.‡

Upon the toleration granted by King James VII. to pave the way for the introduction of Popery, when several Scottish Presbyterian exiles in Holland returned to Scotland, Hog, finding the infirmities of age growing upon him, and probably anticipating the deliverance of his country by the Prince of Orange, to whom the eyes and best wishes of many were directed as their deliverer, thought also of returning home ; which he did about the beginning of 1688, the memorable year in which an end was put to the misgovernment and tyranny of a long twenty-eight years. Hog, however, never approved of that toleration, nor preached by virtue of it. After the Revolution, his old parishioners of Kiltearn, in whose hearts he still lived, were anxious again to secure the benefit of his labours ; and he was settled anew among them in June or July 1691. The joy with which these simple-minded people received him, afforded a pleasing proof of the fidelity and acceptance with which he had, previous to his ejection, discharged

* Wodrow's History, vol. iv. p. 512.

† Hog's Memoirs, Free Church Publications, p. 106.

‡ Wodrow's History, vol. iv. p. 512 ; Memoirs of Alexander Reid, p. 24.

the duties of his pastoral function among them ; but being now advanced in years, and his constitution broken, he performed little public duty. Shortly after, he was appointed by King William to be one of his domestic chaplains ; an appointment which, had he accepted it, would have separated him from the parish of Kiltarn ; but before he received it, he was seized with a complication of maladies, which unfitted him for public service in the church, and which, in the course of a few months, terminated in his death.

Under his last sickness, which was protracted, Hog enjoyed much spiritual comfort and support. Though often subjected to severe pain, he never uttered the language of complaint. On one occasion, his servant, hearing the heavy moans which his bodily sufferings extorted from him, asked him whether it was soul or bodily pain that he felt ; to which he replied, " No soul trouble, man, for a hundred and hundred times my Lord hath assured me that I shall be with him for ever ; but I am making moan for my body." On another occasion he said, " Pity me, O my friends ! and do not pray for my life ; you see I have a complication of diseases,—allow me to go to my eternal rest ;" and then with deep emotion he exclaimed, " Look, O my God ! upon my affliction and my pain, and forgive all my sins." At another time, he said to Mr William Stuart, who became his successor at Kiltarn, " Never did the sun in the firmament shine more brightly to the eyes of my body, than Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, hath shined on my soul." Some time after, when the same person, understanding him to be very low, paid him his last visit, and asked him how he was, he answered, " The unchangeableness of my God is my rock." He retained his faculties to his last hour, and

surrounded by his wife and friends, who were dissolved in tears, he breathed out his life with these words,—
“Now he is come, my Lord is come ; praise, praise to him for evermore. Amen.” He died on the 4th of January 1692, in the 64th year of his age.

Hog was highly respected by the religious of his day ; and his memory was cherished with peculiar veneration by all the devout who knew him, and particularly by the parishioners of Kiltarn, long after his death. His natural and acquired accomplishments—the meekness, humility, forbearance, fortitude, and other Christian virtues by which he was distinguished—his devotedness as a minister of the gospel—the success which attended his ministry, and the sufferings which he endured in the cause of Christ—all these exalted his character, and shed a lustre around it commanding the respect of all, and securing the affection and veneration of the good.

As to Hog's views in reference to the points about which the Presbyterians of his day were divided, we have already seen that, in the controversy between the Resolutioners and Protesters, he adhered in his judgment to the latter, but was far from going to the extreme of thinking that the differences between the two parties ought to interrupt friendly intercourse. He was decidedly opposed to the hearing of the curates, regarding this as inconsistent with the Solemn League and Covenant—as amounting to a virtual approbation of prelacy, since the laws enjoined the hearing of them upon the people, as a public test of their sanctioning and complying with the prelatic government of the Church. He condemned the indulgences granted to the the Presbyterians by Charles II., and thought that Mr Welsh, Mr Blackadder, and others, who rejected them,

and preached in the fields at the hazard of their lives, acted a more upright and honourable part than such as had embraced these ensnaring favours. Still he was wholly opposed to separating from such Presbyterian ministers as had accepted them ; and although he sympathised with, yet he entirely disapproved of, those good people who would hear none but Mr Cargill and Mr Renwick. Nor did he agree with them in denying, as they had too much reason to do, though the avowal in their circumstances was imprudent, the lawfulness of the then existing despotic and oppressive government. At the Revolution, however, he and nearly the whole nation adopted and acted upon the sentiments of these people on that point.

In the discharge of his pastoral duties, Hog was a pattern to the Christian minister. He was instant in season and out of season ; he reproved, rebuked, exhorted with all long-suffering and doctrine. To the success of his labours the sanctity of his deportment powerfully contributed. He was “ an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.” His great ambition was to recommend the gospel, and to win souls to Christ. His diligence, laboriousness, and perseverance as a minister among his parishioners at Kiltearn, evinced how near their spiritual interests lay to his heart. Nor was he unmindful of them in the prospect of death. That they should be provided with an active and spiritual man for their minister when he was sleeping in the dust, was to him, at that solemn period, an object of ardent solicitude ; and few things could have given him more pain than the thought that his beloved flock “ would fall into the hands of a careless and worldly-minded pastor.” So anxious was he about this matter, that on his death-

bed he is said to have given charge to dig his grave in the threshold of his church, that his people might regard him as a sentinel placed at the door to keep out intruders ; and on his tombstone was written the following striking inscription :—

THIS . STONE . SHALL . BEAR . WITNESS .
AGAINST . THE . PARISHIONERS . OF . KILTEARN .
IF . THEY . BRING . ANE . UNGODLY . MINISTER .
IN . HERE . *

* Wodrow's Correspondence, note by the Editor, vol. i. p. 189.

JAMES DRUMMOND.

OF JAMES DRUMMOND only a few particulars are known. He was for some time chaplain to the Marchioness of Argyle, the lady of the Marquis of Argyle, the proto-martyr for Presbytery after the restoration of Charles II.* His name does not occur in the annals of the persecution till 1674, when he was apprehended and incarcerated in the tolbooth of Edinburgh for preaching in families ;† but he did not remain long in prison. The Privy Council having appointed a Committee of their number to examine him, he confessed the charge brought against him, and engaged to the Committee not to keep any conventicles in future.‡ Upon this condition, the Council, July 21, 1674, ordained the Magistrates of Edinburgh to set him at liberty. The engagement which Drummond in this instance made was what very few of the recusant ministers during the persecution could be prevailed on to make. They readily gave bond to appear when called ; but all of them, with few exceptions, felt so strongly the necessity laid upon them of preaching the gospel, that on no consideration

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. i. p. 73.

† Wodrow's *History*, vol. ii. p. 270.

‡ This is stated in an Act of Council dated June 28, 1676.

would they come under a promise to desist from preaching it. And although Drummond had been led to make such a promise in the hour of temptation, from the fear of suffering, yet he regretted having done so in the moments of calm reflection ; and not feeling a promise to be binding, the keeping of which he believed would be to commit sin, he resumed preaching, both in houses and in the fields, on being released.

While pursuing this course, he was again apprehended and imprisoned in Glasgow, but was liberated upon giving caution to appear before the Committee of Privy Council for Public Affairs, on the 28th of January 1677. Having then appeared and been examined, he did not deny that he had kept both house and field conventicles since his being set at liberty, although contrary to his former engagement. He was asked, if he would yet promise to forbear keeping all such meetings in time to come, and had he engaged to do this, he would probably have been set at liberty ; but more stedfast to his principles, and more fearless of suffering than before, he decidedly refused to come under any such obligation. Upon which the opinion of the Committee was, that he should without delay be transmitted to the prison of the Bass, and in the mean time, be put into the tolbooth of Edinburgh. The report of the Committee having been approved of by the Council, he was sent prisoner to the Bass.

In that place of confinement, however, he did not remain above three months. On a petition being presented for him to the Council, the following act, dated October 5, 1677, was passed in his favour :—"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council having heard and considered a petition presented to them in behalf of Mr James Drummond, at present prisoner in the Bass,

humbly supplicating for his liberty upon the grounds and reasons therein contained, do hereby give order and warrant to the governor of the Isle of the Bass to set the said Mr James Drummond at liberty, in regard sufficient caution is found for him acted in the books of Privy Council, that within the space of fourteen days after his liberation he shall repair to Kilmarnock, and confine himself to that parish until the first day of May next, and that at the said first day of May, he shall remove himself from Kilmarnock to Kintyre until the Council's further orders, under the pain of five thousand merks Scots money."

After this Drummond's name occurs only incidentally in the history of the persecution. In the beginning of the year 1677, a number of persons are summoned to appear before the Council, for "being present at house and field conventicles kept at Balvie, Drumry, &c. where they have heard diverse outed ministers preach, expound scripture, pray, and exercise the other functions of the ministry, and particularly, Mr James Drummond, Mr Thomas Melville, Mr John King," &c.* In June that same year, a number of other persons are summoned before the Council, for having been "present at house and field conventicles, kept at, about, or near to Glasgow, Cathcart, Cumnock, Mearns, Eastwood, and diverse other adjacent parishes, where they have heard diverse ministers preach, expound scripture, pray, and exercise the other functions of the ministry, and particularly, Mr John Welsh, Mr Andrew Morton, Mr Donald Cargill, Mr John King, Mr John Law, and Mr James Drummond."† In the beginning of the year 1688, one of the persecutors sends information to the

* Decrees of Privy Council, 21st June 1677.

† Ibid. 2d February 1677.

Privy Council, that he had been preaching in the malt-barn of a lady in the neighbourhood of Stow, and honours him with the appellation of a " fanatical preacher."*

Drummond survived the storm of persecution, and after the Revolution became minister of Kilconquhar. In the latter end of March 1691 he began to preach in the kirk of that parish, by the appointment of the Presbytery of St Andrews and Cupar, and at the desire of the parishioners. His ministry in that parish being generally acceptable, he received a call to be its minister, subscribed by the majority of the heritors, the whole eldership, and the body of the people. He was admitted on the 25th of June that same year, and there he continued to labour till his death, which took place on the 29th of September 1699.†

* See notice of William Bell, p. 120.

† Register of Acts of Privy Council, February 4. 1692. Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife, printed for the Spalding Club, p. 208.

ROBERT BENNET OF CHESTERS.

ROBERT BENNET of Chesters was the son of Roger Bennet of Chesters. His father must have died before the 13th of January 1670, as at that date he is returned heir to him in the lands of Raflat, in the lands of Ryk-naw, at the east end of the manor-house of Belschies, &c.* Robert was in principle strictly Presbyterian, and so cordially did he disapprove of the ecclesiastical changes which followed the Restoration of Charles II., that immediately upon their introduction he entirely deserted his own parish church, judging it wrong to countenance conforming ministers even by occasionally attending their ministry.

Bennet's imprisonment in the Bass was chiefly owing to his being present at a very numerous field meeting, held in the year 1676, at Lilliesleaf moor, and to the manner in which he was said to have conducted himself on that occasion. Of this meeting we have two accounts preserved, the one by the minister who preached at it, the venerable Mr John Blackadder, whose labours and sufferings are immortalized in the history of the Church of Scotland, and the other by the government ; both which we shall lay before the reader. Blackadder's narrative is in substance as follows:— Having learned, on assembling, that the sheriff of the

* Inquis. Retor. Abbrev. Roxburgh, no. 249.

county, with some of the life-guards and militia, were ranging Lilliesleaf moors, the congregation shifted their ground so as to be within the shire of Selkirk, whether his authority did not extend, expecting that he would not attempt to disturb them there ; but in this they were disappointed. Before the commencement of divine worship, they set watches to give timely alarm in case their enemies should come upon them,—a precaution of which experience had taught the Covenanters the necessity. During the forenoon's service no disturbance was met with, but about the middle of the sermon in the afternoon, the alarm was given that the sheriff, with a party of dragoons and militia, all on horseback, were within a short distance, rapidly coming up to them. The preacher immediately closed his discourse, and exhorted the audience to be composed and unalarmed. They were so, and all of them stood in their places. Two horses were brought for the minister to assist him in making his escape, but when he saw the people keeping their ground he refused to withdraw, resolving to wait to see the issue of the affair ; and, a little after, one of the hearers “ cast a gray cloak about him, and put a broad bonnet on his head,” by which he was so effectually disguised, that though the soldiers searched for him among the crowd, and often passed by him, he remained undiscovered. The militia, eager to get hold of their prey, came riding towards the people at full gallop, and drew up on a declivity over against them ; but when they saw them remain firm, their courage seemed to be somewhat abated. The sheriff, who was the Laird of Heriot, after standing for some time with his men about him, called out, but in a faint tone, as if he were afraid of danger, “ I charge you to dismiss in the King's name ;” to which the people resolutely answered

from several quarters, "We are all met here in the name of the King of heaven and earth to hear the gospel, and not for harm to any man." The sheriff, on observing their intrepidity, appeared to be still more apprehensive of danger. Meanwhile his own sister, a religious lady, who was one of the audience, offended at his rudeness and impiety in interrupting the worship of God, went up to him, and taking his horse by the bridle, clapping her hands, cried out in a passionate tone, "Fye on ye, man, fye on ye; the vengeance of God will overtake you for marring so good a work;" at which unceremonious salutation, he stood as if thunderstruck. Some of the soldiers mingled with the crowd, in order, if possible, to discover the minister, and one of them, coming riding among them, said laughing, "Gentlemen and friends, we hope you will do us no harm;" but the people ordered them instantly to remove to their own party. The meeting still refusing to separate, the sheriff at length calling upon Bennet and another gentleman, Thomas Turnbull of Standhill, who had been hearers, earnestly desired them to use their influence in persuading the people to disperse, and render it unnecessary for him to have recourse to force. Bennet, yielding to this request, entreated them to separate, and as they held him in high respect, his advice had more influence with them than all the threatenings of the sheriff. Such is the history of this field meeting as given by Blackadder.*

The account of it given by the government is very different, and is probably exaggerated. It is contained in a decret against Bennet, the substance of which is engrossed in an act in reference to him, which we will

* See Crichton's *Memoirs of Blackadder*, pp. 190, 191; also MS. copy in Adv. Lib.

afterwards meet with.* After adducing various charges against him, the document proceeds as follows:—

“ And more particularly upon the 26th of November last [1676] being a Sabbath day, a field conventicle being to be kept at the said place called Lislíe moor, being the common and ordinary place and rendezvous of these seditious, rebellious, and disorderly meetings, and there being reason to apprehend (after so many numerous meetings kept at that place before), the sheriff of the shire, and some other persons or parties, empowered and authorised by us and our Council, might endeavour to hinder and prevent the foresaid meeting, or to scatter and dissipate the same, and might take notice of and seize upon such persons as should be found at such a meeting, yet such was the boldness and insolency of the said Robert Bennet of Chesters, and a great multitude of other disaffected persons, that they did convocate themselves together on the said day in that same place, to the number of † for keeping the said seditious, rebellious, and disorderly meeting upon pretext of religious worship: At which meeting the said Mr David Williamson, ‡ or one or other of the foresaid persons, § did take upon them to exercise the office of the ministry, albeit they be persons not only not warranted by lawful authority, but outed and deprived for disaffection to his Majesty's government, and denounced and declared rebels, and letters of intercommuning directed against them, which are printed and published: And the said Robert Bennet of Chesters had not only the presumption and confidence to be at the said disorderly meeting and field conventicle, but to encourage others to be at the same. In hope and assurance of security and protection, they did proceed to that height of disloyalty and

* See pp. 212-214.

† Blank in MS.

‡ Mr John Blackadder, and not Mr David Williamson, was the minister who preached.

§ That is, the ministers named in the preceding part of the decret, viz. Mr John Welsh, Mr Robert Traill junior, Mr George Johnston, Mr John Blackadder. See p. 212.

rebellion, as to come to the said meeting in arms, with swords, pistols, and other weapons, of purpose to oppose and affront his Majesty's authority, and any person or party that by warrant of the same should offer to hinder or dissipate the said disorderly meeting; and the day foresaid, a party of his Majesty's forces, commanded by Captain Innes, in obedience and in pursuance of the order that was given him, having come to the said moor to take notice of and dissipate the said meeting, the said Robert Bennet of Chesters, and a great number of those who were then in arms, to the number of three or four hundred, with swords, pistols, and other weapons, did come from the body of the said meeting, and did send of their number about thirty armed men, in order foresaid, upon horses to the party, and the said Robert Bennet of Chesters having uttered many opprobrious and reproachful expressions, both against his Majesty's person and authority, did presume to show the said party they were ready and resolved to withstand and resist whatever the consequence might be, if the party should any ways offer to disturb or trouble them, and had the confidence to draw their swords, and to shew and hold out their bended pistols in their hands; so that the said Captain Innes, considering they were so numerous and desperate, and that they were like to overpower him, and that not only the said party that came towards him and his party, but a great multitude of others that were in arms, did endeavour, and were about to surround and encompass him, and he apprehending the effusion of blood, and upon assurance given by the said persons, that if he should not proceed further, the said meeting should be dissolved in a peaceable manner presently without delay, he thought fit to give them time to dissolve, yet, nevertheless, they did continue and proceed to keep the said meeting by the space of an hour thereafter, at which time they dissolved, and went off in three several bodies in a most braving and insolent manner."

Thus from the account of the Privy Council, the meeting at Lilliesleaf moor seems to have been what

was called "an armed conventicle." The charges brought against the Presbyterians in the records of that body, are indeed to be received with caution ; but several things contained in Blackadder's narrative, though it does not expressly speak of any of the people as having arms, confirm the statement of the Council in this particular. It is, however, probable enough, that the number stated as in arms is exaggerated, as is the case in other decreets and acts of Council in reference to the number armed at other field conventicles.

This was not the first instance in which the Presbyterians assembled in this bold attitude to hear their beloved ministers. Similar "armed conventicles" began to be held several years previous to this ; and it was from the irritation and alarm created in the minds of the rulers by one of these,* that in 1670 all field meetings were declared treasonable, and discharged under the pain of death to the minister and convocator. Such armed meetings, however, only occurred in a few cases ; and when they did occur, all who were present had not arms, but only a comparatively small number, and their object was simply to protect from hostile aggression the unarmed assembly, many of whom were aged persons, females and children. It was, no doubt, a very unhappy state of matters for the people to convene together in this manner ; but it can be ascribed to no other cause than the oppression of the government, as will appear from a glance at the facts of the case. These field meetings, which began to be held in some instances at an early period of the per-

* One kept by Mr John Blackadder and Mr John Dickson at Beath-hill above Dunfermline in the 18th of June 1670. For a particular account of this meeting, which was among the first armed conventicles, see Notice of John Dickson.

secution, and which were afterwards kept more frequently and attended by greater numbers, were conducted in the most peaceable manner. The chief object of the great bulk of those who assembled to them, was to listen to the message of the gospel delivered by their favourite preachers, and nothing was farther from their mind than to create tumult and confusion. But as these meetings fostered Presbytery and strengthened the opposition to Prelacy, they were proscribed under severe penalties. Soldiers and other parties were sent out to disperse them, and, if possible, to apprehend the ministers who preached at them, and the principal hearers. Still the people attended them defenceless, and offered no resistance to such as attempted to dissolve them, "so that," as a judicious defender of field meetings writing in June 1678 says, "two or three idle fellows, without any warrant, have at their own hand fallen upon meetings of seven or eight hundred, and scattered them without resistance, and oftentimes about Glasgow and in other parts three or four red coats have and may still dissipate a thousand of these meeters most securely."* Some of the people, however, after they had been frequently molested in this way, and when they found that the military and other parties, not content with dispersing them, beat, plundered, and committed other outrages upon them, which human nature could hardly submit to without resistance, at length came armed to these meetings, not with any hostile intention, but solely for the purpose of defending their ministers and the helpless and unarmed multitude. "All that can be with truth alleged is," says the same writer, "that partly to protect three or four ministers in more special hazard by reason of a price set

* Wodrow MSS. vol. xxvi., 4to, no. 9; Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 488.

by the Council on their heads, and partly to prevent the profane interrupting and abusing of God's holy worship and sincere worshippers by the boldness of contemptible and oftentimes not warranted parties, some few in remote parts have been moved to come together in such condition as might secure them from such attempts." "But," adds he, in farther defence of those about whom he is speaking, and as a proof of their peaceable dispositions, "if these things are a little offensive, may it not, think you, be a reasonable allegiance to reflect upon all the violences, even to the wounding and killing of several persons that have been committed in our meetings without opposition, and how often have sheriffs with their men, and parties of the militia, and standing forces, come to our meetings and been encountered by double, yea treble their number, who could have cut them up, and yet so great was the deference to authority, that all [that was] done was to break off and capitulate for a safe retreat."

Thus it was from no intention to create tumult or insurrection, but simply to defend the public worship from hostile invasion, that some came armed to these field-meetings. That such was the case as to the people who assembled at Lilliesleaf moor is evident, even from the act of the Privy Council, for they are said to have threatened resistance only in case the sheriff's party "offered to disturb or trouble them." Similar was the manner in which the people acted in general at the other field meetings where they were armed. Though denied their most natural rights, invaded in their dearest interests, and treated with great cruelty, yet they felt strong repugnance to commit acts of violence, self-protection and not retaliation being the object they anxiously sought for.

Bennet with several others, for their concern in this conventicle, and for "other seditious and disorderly practices," were charged by letters raised at the instance of Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton, his Majesty's advocate, to compear personally before the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, on the 14th of December 1676, and answer to the several articles of their libel, and give their oaths upon them, under the pain of rebellion. Failing to make their appearance, the Council "ordain letters to be directed to messengers-at-arms to pass to the market-cross of^{*} and other places needful, and thereat, in his Majesty's name and authority, duly, lawfully, and orderly denounce them his Majesty's rebels, and put them to the horn and escheat, and inbring all their moveable goods, and give them to his Highness' use for their contempt."[†]

Bennet did not long escape falling into the hands of the government. He was apprehended by Alexander Moncrieff and Robert Spottiswood, two of the guards, and imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Being brought before the Council, and the probation of the articles in the libel against him being referred to his oath, he refused to give his oath on the matter, upon which he was sentenced to be imprisoned in the Bass by the following act:—

" 2d May 1677.

"Robert Bennet of Chesters apprehended and imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as being declared fugitive for not appearing before the Council to have answered for being at a field conventicle held at Lisle moor, and for resisting and opposing the king's forces in arms, he being convened before the Committee of Council and examined thereupon, and upon several other interrogators relating thereto, and required to

^{*} Blank in MS.

[†] Decrees of Privy Council.

give his oath, he altogether refused so to do in a most insolent and arrogant manner : The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council therefore do ordain him to be carried to the Isle of the Bass, there to be kept prisoner until farther order ;" and give order and warrant to the Earl of Linlithgow, Colonel of his Majesty's regiment of foot, " to give order to six footmen to convey him from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh to the Isle of the Bass, and to join with the three horsemen appointed for their assistance ;" and " grant order and warrant to the Lord Marquis of Athol, Captain of his Majesty's troop of guards, or the next commanding officer in the town of Edinburgh, to give orders to three horsemen to join with the six foot appointed for their assistance in transmitting him, appointing the governor of the Isle to receive and detain him in sure firmance till farther order."

At the same meeting of Council it was agreed to recommend the Lords of the Treasury to give the guards who apprehended Bennet a reward of £20 sterling.

Bennet, notwithstanding this act of Council, was still kept prisoner at Edinburgh till the 28th of June, when he was again brought before the Council. A long libel was read against him, containing a variety of charges. He is accused of having, " upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of April, May, June, and remanent months of the year 1674 ; the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of January, February, March, and remanent months of the year 1675 ; upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of January, February, March, 1676 ; and upon the first, second, and remanent days of the months of January, February, March, and April, 1677 ; or upon one or other of the days of the months of the said years, been present at house and field conventicles, kept at Lislie moor, Hassenden moor, Blackriddel-hill, or near to or about the said places, or some other places within Teviotdale, or at one or other of them ; at which places,

Mr John Welsh, a declared rebel and traitor, Mr Robert Traill, son to the deceased Mr Robert Traill, Mr George Johnston, Mr John Blackadder, Mr David Williamson, who are intercommuned persons, and*, or one or other of them, did take upon them to preach, pray, and exercise the other functions of the ministry." A farther charge brought against him is, that he "did not only meet and convene in the fields in the places foresaid, and did invite and desire these ministers to keep the said disorderly meetings, but also at diverse times before, and after the said disorderly meetings, did harbour, reset, and intercommune with the said Mr John Welsh, and remanent persons foresaid, and entertain them in his house, and elsewhere, and did guide and conduct them to several places on this and the other side of the border of England in a hostile manner, armed with swords and pistols, with resolution to fall in blood with any person [who] should molest, interrupt, or offer to apprehend the said Mr John Welsh, and the other persons foresaid." He is also charged with having been present at the field conventicle held on the 26th of November last at Lislle moor, and for acting there in the manner previously described.†

Being examined upon the various articles of the libel, he frankly confessed that he had never attended his own parish church since the establishment of Prelacy; that he was present at the meeting held at Lilliesleaf moor; that he had heard Mr John Welsh preach, and conversed with him, although a declared traitor; and that he had been present at the sermons of other ministers who were intercommuned, and had conversed with them. Being asked whether he would engage in future to attend his own parish church, and refrain from at-

* Blank in MS.

† See pp. 206, 207.

tending conventicles, and hearing Welsh, he refused to come under any such engagements, although by doing so he would probably have got easily off. Upon this he was fined in the sum of four thousand merks Scots, and ordained to be imprisoned in the Bass until he paid the fine, and until the Council's further orders. The act of Council is in these terms:—

“ *Edinburgh, 28th June 1677.*

“ The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council having heard and considered the foresaid libel, with the defender's own confession, they find that he has deserted his own parish kirk, and never heard any orderly minister preach therein since the restitution of the Church government; that he was at a field conventicle at Lillie moor; that he has conversed with Mr John Welsh, a declared traitor, and with Mr David Williamson, and with Mr George Johnston, persons intercommuned, and heard them preach. And in regard he refused to engage to keep his parish kirk, and not go to conventicles, or hear the said Mr John Welsh preach in time coming; therefore, the said Lords do fine the said Robert Bennet, defender, in the sum of four thousand merks Scots, and ordain him to be carried to the Bass, to remain prisoner there until he make payment of the said fine, and until the Council give further order concerning him.”

A few months after this, on his presenting a petition to the Council, their Committee for Public Affairs, upon considering it, gave it as “ their opinion that he should be set at liberty on his paying to the cash-keeper one thousand merks of the fine of four thousand merks imposed upon him by the Council, and finding caution for his orderly behaviour under the penalty of five thousand merks; and farther, they were of opinion that execution should be superseded for the other three thousand merks of his fine, until the Council saw what should be his future behaviour.” . . . This report was approved

of by the Council at their meeting of the 9th of October 1677.

But this act in his favour does not appear to have been carried into effect, for we find him still prisoner in the Bass the 18th of February 1678, when his wife, Anna Douglas, being afflicted with sickness, and apprehending the near approach of death, petitioned the Council that her husband, "at present prisoner in the Bass, might have liberty to visit her on her bed of sickness before her death, which in all probability will shortly ensue." In answer to this petition, the Council "granted warrant and order to the commander of the garrison of the Bass to set him at liberty, in regard he hath found sufficient caution under the pain of four thousand merks Scots, to re-enter himself prisoner in the Bass on the 18th day of March next." When the time appointed for his returning to prison drew near, the indisposition of his wife still continuing, he presented a petition to the Council, praying that the former liberty granted him might be prorogued; upon which the Council, on the 14th of March, allowed him to remain at liberty until the first council-day of May next, provided he gave the same security as before. On the 13th of June, having considered another petition which he presented to them, they "confined him to his own house, he finding sufficient caution, under the pain of four thousand merks Scots, that he should appear before the Council when he should be called, and that in the mean time he should keep his confinement, and that conventicles should not be kept in his house under the foresaid penalty." Owing to a blank which occurs in the Register of the Acts of Council, some years after this, we are unable to state the future proceedings of that body in reference to him, except that on the 16th

of December 1680, they passed an act by which he was ordained to be set at liberty upon his paying a fine of one thousand merks, and discharged of all fines imposed upon him by the Council preceding that date. This fine was to be paid to the widow of a deceased major in the army, who had left her with several children in destitute circumstances. Whether this act refers to Bennet's liberation from the Bass, or from some other prison, is uncertain. His name does not again occur in the Records of the Privy Council.

ROBERT TRAILL.

ROBERT TRAILL was descended from an ancient family which had at an early period possessed the estate of Blebo in the county of Fife. The earliest notice of it we have met with is in Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, which informs us that Walter Traill, who was elevated to the See of St Andrews in 1385, in the reign of Robert II., by the apostolic authority of the pope, was a son of the laird of Blebo.* For a few subsequent generations a geneological account of the family cannot be given in regular succession, but it still continued to retain the estate; and Andrew Traill, the great-grandfather of the subject of this notice, was a younger brother of the then proprietor. Following the military profession, he rose to the rank of a colonel, and was for some time in the service of the city of Bruges and other towns in Flanders, in the wars which the Netherlands carried on in defence of their liberties against Spain. On leaving their service, his arrears amounted to £2700 sterling, for which sum the city of Bruges and the other towns concerned granted him a bond. After this, he served with distinction under the king of Navarre, subsequently Henry IV. of France, in the civil

* Edition 1755, p. 17.

wars of that kingdom ; and on his return to Britain, he was made a gentleman of Prince Henry's bed-chamber.*

James, the son of the preceding, endeavoured to recover the money due to his father by the cities of Flanders, and upon a petition to King James VI., which was referred to the Judge of the Admiralty, he obtained warrant to arrest a ship belonging to the city of Bruges at London. This he accordingly did ; but the other party having gained the interest of the Duke of Buckingham, his object was defeated, the ship being set free. Nor could he afterwards obtain any part of the debt due to his father, in consequence of which, together with the expenses of prosecution, he was so far reduced as to be under the necessity of disposing of a small estate he possessed in the parish of Denino in Fife.†

Robert Traill, the son of the preceding, and father of the subject of our notice, was first ordained minister of Elie, in Fife, in 1639, a parish belonging to the Presbytery of St Andrews. He was afterwards, in 1649, translated to the Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh, to be colleague to Mr Mungo Law. The prominent situation he thus came to occupy, and his stedfast adherence to Presbyterian principles, connected him with the most important ecclesiastical transactions of his day, as well as involved him in the sufferings to which public men in those troublous times were exposed. In the controversy between the resolutioners and protesters, he took the side of the latter, but, during the Commonwealth, he zealously adhered to the interest of Charles II. Upon the restoration of that prince, when almost the whole nation was so intoxicated and blinded by extra-

* Notice of Traill, prefixed to his works, Glasgow edition, 1775, p. iii.

† Ibid.

vagant loyalty, as to forget the duty which they owed to the Church, Traill and other nine ministers, with two ruling elders, all protesters, met at Edinburgh to draw up an humble address and supplication to the king, in which, while congratulating his return, and professing their entire and unfeigned loyalty, they took the liberty to remind him of the sacred obligations of the Covenant which he had sworn, and expressed their earnest desire that his reign might be like that of David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah. For this they were, by the orders of the Committee of Estates then sitting, apprehended and committed close prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh. After being confined for some months, Traill was libelled for high treason, but on appearing before the Parliament, so completely did he vindicate himself in a speech of considerable length, that not long after he was set at liberty. He was, however, regarded with much suspicion, and opportunity being eagerly sought to treat him with still greater severity, a pretext for doing so was not long in being found; for having one Sabbath afternoon expounded the Scriptures to a few friends in the family where he resided, he was summoned before the Privy Council to answer for holding conventicles. Refusing, on making his appearance, to swear and subscribe the oath of allegiance, though he declared his willingness to take it in the sense in which the managers professed they themselves had taken it, he was banished for life; and towards the end of March 1663, when at the advanced age of sixty,* he embarked at Dundee for Holland, bidding a sorrowful adieu to his beloved wife and children. He, however, again returned, and died in Scotland. He left behind him manuscript memoirs of his life. Two

* He was born in March or April 1603.

of his letters written to his wife and children from Holland, during his captivity, have been repeatedly printed. They breathe deep paternal solicitude, and are rich in pious counsels. He married Jane Annan, daughter to the Laird of Auchterallan, in the north, a woman of great worth, by whom he had six children, three sons, and three daughters: 1. William, who became minister of Borthwick; 2. Robert, the subject of this sketch; 3. James, a lieutenant of the garrison of Stirling Castle; 4. Helen, married to Mr Thomas Paterson, minister of Borthwick; 5. Agnes, married to Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Lord Advocate of Scotland; and 6. Margaret, married to James Scot of Bristo, writer in Edinburgh.*

Robert, the second eldest of the family, was born at Elie in May 1642. After being initiated in the preparatory branches of learning, he attended the College of Edinburgh, where he distinguished himself by a sedulous attention to his studies, and the extent of his acquirements in the several classes through which he passed. As his views were directed to the sacred office of ministry, after attending the literary and philosophical classes, he went through a course of theological study. Placed under the vigilant and affectionate superintendence of his excellent father, he possessed invaluable advantages for improvement in learning, as well as for advancing in true piety, and attaining an acquaintance with the principles of the Church of Scotland. These advantages he did not fail to improve, and he gave early indications of inheriting much of his father's spirit. With the intrepidity of pious and generous youth, in the nineteenth year of his age, he

* Letters to Wodrow, vol. xix. no. 68; and Notice of Traill prefixed to the edition of his works printed at Glasgow 1775, p. iv.

attended James Guthrie, the friend of his father, to the scaffold, and witnessed the steadfastness and heroism with which the martyr laid down his life in the cause, for which he himself was to be called to suffer less, but which he faithfully and consistently maintained to the close of a long life. His father's banishment had reduced the family to circumstances of much privation, but they bore their trials with becoming fortitude ; and the numerous conventicles which, as we learn from the Register of the Acts of the Privy Council, were held in the house of his mother, and by which she exposed herself to punishment, may be regarded as an attestation both to the strength of her religious principle, and to her Christian courage. In 1666 he and the whole family were obliged to leave their home and conceal themselves. In the preceding year, the " Apologetical Relation," written by Mr John Brown, formerly minister of Wamphray, but who had been banished to Holland on account of his Presbyterian principles, was printed in that country ; a work in which, among other things, James Guthrie and the Marquis of Argyle, the first victims immolated on the altar of Prelacy, are vindicated, and the proceedings of government, in reference to them, set in their true light. A number of copies of this able production, so well calculated to bring odium on the government, being soon brought over to Scotland, the Privy Council, irritated at the freedom with which it unfolded the mystery of their iniquity, pronounced it " to be full of seditious, treasonable, and rebellious principles," condemned it to be burnt by the hands of the hangman,—finding it easier to burn it than to disprove its statements of fact, or to confute its arguments,—and ordered all who had copies of it to deliver them up to government, under the penalty of two thou-

sand merks Scots. A copy of this book had found its way into Traill's mother's house, and the family having a different opinion of its merits from what was held by the Privy Council, were not in a hurry to deliver it up. But their house being searched—for the conventicles kept in it, and the well-known anti-prelatic tendencies of the family, made them the objects of strong suspicion,—the obnoxious volume was discovered, and Traill, with his mother and brother, to escape the vengeance of the Council, were under the necessity of hiding themselves.

Whether Traill was with the Covenanters in the engagement at Pentland Hills, we have not been able to ascertain, but he was accused by the government of being one of the insurgents, and eagerly sought after. So obnoxious had he become to the ruling powers, that in the indemnity which the king proclaimed in favour of "the Pentland rebels," dated Whitehall, 1st October 1667, he is one of those who are expressly excluded from the benefit of its provisions. In the document he is said to have been for "some time chaplain to Scots-tarvet."* Thus branded as a traitor, and placed beyond the pale of the king's mercy, to escape the fury of the government he retired to Holland, that asylum where many of our suffering ancestors were sheltered during the persecution of the Stuarts. There he met with his father, and other expatriated fellow-countrymen, by whom he would be cordially welcomed. In this retreat he continued to prosecute his theological studies. He also employed a considerable part of his time in assisting Dr Matthias Nethenus, Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht, in the publication of Mr Samuel Rutherford's learned work, entitled

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 92.

“ *Examen Arminianismi*,” which was published at Utrecht in 1668. From a letter of Mr Robert M’Ward, a banished minister, and then pastor of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam, to Nethenus, and from a preface of Nethenus to the Reader, prefixed to the work, we learn the share which Traill had in preparing it for the press, as well as the esteem in which he was held by these eminent men. M’Ward, to whom the MS. of the volume had been communicated by Rutherford’s widow and friends for examination, in his letter to Nethenus, says, “ I have transmitted with this excellent young man, Mr Traill, a student of theology, and a partaker of the cross of Christ with his father, that manuscript of your distinguished brother, Rutherford, which in the judgment of learned men, but especially of yourself, is considered worthy of being brought to light.” And after desiring that Nethenus, as had been agreed upon between them, should without hesitation use the freedom of deleting or changing any word or phrase which rendered the sense obscure to the reader, before giving it to the printer, he adds, “ And lest the reading of the manuscript should occasion you some difficulty, or encroach too much on your precious time, I have given orders to Mr Traill to ease you of this burden, by reading it for you, while you mark those things which are to be corrected, omitted, or changed.” Nethenus also, in his preface to the work, speaks in terms of high commendation of Traill ; and on this account, as well as to shew by the way the great pains taken to secure the accuracy of that posthumous publication, we shall extract a few sentences from his preface :—“ Your letter” [Mr M’Ward’s] says he, “ with Rutherford’s MS., was brought to me by that learned, pious, prudent, and industrious young man, Mr Robert

Traill, student of theology, the son of Mr Robert Traill, who is an exile for the cause of Christ and the confession of the truth ; a son worthy of such a father. Having been appointed to assist me in preparing this volume for publication, he has throughout performed his part diligently, faithfully, and constantly, so that he deserves the approbation and love of all the friends and students both of divine truth and of the works of the illustrious Rutherford. Mr Traill, for my assistance, and that of the printers, has transcribed in parts the whole text of the author from collated copies, in a superior and more elegant hand, in such order and manner as I pointed out to him ; adding, likewise, on the margin, asterisks, where he thought any thing required to be examined or corrected ; and he brought to me every part to be read and reviewed before it was put into the printer's hands. In addition to this, that the work might be presented to the public with the greatest possible accuracy, when it was put in type every page was again read and corrected by Mr Traill, and then being put into my hands, I read it over again, corrected, and amended it."

Traill did not remain long in Holland after the publication of Rutherford's work. He probably returned to England in the beginning of the year 1669 ; for we learn from one of his Note-books, that he preached at London for the first time on the 22d of April 1669, on the Thursday before the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in one of the Presbyterian congregations. It would appear from the memorandum in another of his Note-books, " Trial, April 5, 1669," that he had been shortly before licensed by the Presbyterian ministers in that city.* " From the

* M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, p. 205. In an act of Privy

notices in his manuscript-sermons, it also appears that after preaching some time in London without any settled charge, he was permanently stationed at Cranbrook, a small town in Kent.”*

In the end of May 1677, Traill came to Edinburgh, probably on a visit to his relatives and friends ; and ready to embrace every opportunity of proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ, he had preached in private houses, notwithstanding the severe laws enacted against the minister who officiated at such meetings, the people who attended them, as well as the person in whose house they were held, and the zeal with which these laws were executed. It was soon discovered by the government that he preached at such meetings ; and being apprehended by Major Johnston, who received for this piece of service from the Council, a reward of a thousand pounds Scots, he was brought before the Council, and charged with holding house and field conventicles. He acknowledged, without hesitation, that he had preached in private houses, but as to preach in the fields was, according to the then existing law, a capital crime, he declined to answer whether or not he had done this, leaving his accusers to establish that point by proof if they could. This they deemed it unnecessary to attempt, having a shorter and more summary mode of procedure ; for in those days, when even the forms of justice were disregarded, it was customary for the Council, as has been before observed, in the absence of evidence, to refer the matter to the oath of the person before them, and if he refused to clear himself by oath, he was considered as having confessed him-

Council, July 19. 1677, it is stated that Traill “ declared that in the year 1670 he was ordained minister by some Presbyterian ministers of London.”

* Notice of Traill prefixed to his *Select Writings*, issued by Cheap Publication Scheme of the Free Church of Scotland, p. viii.

self guilty, and punished accordingly.* Acting upon this rule of judicial procedure, the Council ordered Traill to purge himself by oath of having either preached or heard at field conventicles ; and on his peremptorily refusing to do this, as what he could not justly be bound to do in his own cause, they sentenced him to be imprisoned in the Bass, by the following act :—

“ *Edinburgh, 19th July 1677.*

“ Forasmuch as the Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council, finding by the Report of the Committee anent Public Affairs, that Mr Robert Traill, son of the deceased Mr Robert Traill, against whom letters of intercommuning are direct, and who is excepted forth of his Majesty’s gracious act of indemnity for his being in the rebellion in the year 1666, being apprehended within the city of Edinburgh, and brought before the said Committee, and examined if since his last coming to this kingdom he had kept any house or field conventicles, did acknowledge he had kept house conventicles, but said he left it to proof as to field conventicles ; and the verity thereof being referred to his own oath he refused to depone ; and confessed he had conversed with Mr John Welsh on the borders, and had assisted him at preaching in the fields, but especially upon the borders of the English side, where he said he had stayed for the most part since he came last to Scotland ; and that he had been in and about Edinburgh since the end of May last ; and that being interrogated by what authority he took upon him to preach, he declared that, in the year 1670, he was ordained minister by some Presbyterian ministers at London ; and acknowledged that he had seen the printed act of indemnity out of which his name is excepted : The said Lords do ordain the said Mr Robert Traill to be sent prisoner to the Bass, until the Council consider what further shall be done with him.”

On the same day, “ The Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council do grant warrant and order to the Lord Marquis of Athole, to command such a party of horse as he shall think fit to trans-

* See p. 122.

port the person of Mr Robert Traill from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh unto the Isle of the Bass, to remain prisoner there."

After lying upwards of two months in the dungeon of the Bass, Traill presented a petition to the Council, supplicating to be set at liberty. On considering this petition, the Council, by an act of the 5th of October, "give order to the Governor of the Isle of the Bass immediately to set the said Mr Robert Traill at liberty, in regard that sufficient caution is found for him acted in the Books of Privy Council, that he shall re-enter his person in prison when he shall be called, under the pain of two thousand merks Scots money, and that during the time of his enlargement he shall live orderly in obedience to law, under the pain foresaid." "To live orderly in obedience to law," was, in the language of the Privy Council, to abstain from keeping house or field conventicles. If Traill came under such an engagement, as the act of Council declares that he did, he engaged to do what some others of the prisoners of the Bass, as Mr Thomas Hog and Mr John Blackadder, absolutely refused, upon any consideration, to do. But it is possible that his friends, to obtain his liberty, came under such an engagement for him without his knowledge ; as in some instances we find friends presenting petitions in behalf of the prisoners, and coming under obligations for them, with which they were altogether unacquainted. Or if Traill actually came under such a promise, he might do so with the purpose that, as he was a minister of a charge in England, he would at once leave Scotland and return to it.

Whatever may be as to this, we know that on being liberated he returned to his charge at Cranbrook. He afterwards accepted an invitation to become pastor of

a Presbyterian congregation in London ; and in that situation he continued, during the remaining part of his life, to discharge, with much acceptance, fidelity, and diligence, his ministerial duties.

Near the close of the seventeenth century, Traill was engaged for some time in a warm contest on some points of Christian doctrine. In 1692, a controversy arose among the dissenting ministers in London somewhat similar to that about the Marrow of Modern Divinity, which agitated the Church of Scotland in the beginning of the 18th century, and in that controversy he was honoured to defend, along with some other distinguished ministers, the same important truths for which Boston and the other Marrowmen so zealously contended. Richard Baxter, holding that the views propounded by our Reformers concerning the doctrines of grace were Antinomian, had long been attempting to introduce into the Church a scheme of doctrine intermediate between Calvinism and Arminianism, and which contained many erroneous notions about justification and other collateral points. From the reputation in which that eminent man was held for piety and penetration, many of the English Presbyterians had embraced or were tainted with his new opinions. This was no doubt the real cause of the controversy to which we refer, although the immediate occasion of it was the printing of some sermons of Dr Tobias Crisp, by his son Mr Samuel Crisp. Several of that divine's sermons, under the title of "Christ alone Exalted," had been printed in three volumes in 1643, 1644, &c. ; and his son, in 1683, had published two additional sermons from his father's manuscripts. About the year 1690, there were published by the same gentleman, others of his writings, to which the names of several ministers were prefixed,

testifying that these writings were genuine. The volume was found fault with by some as approaching too near Antinomianism ; and those who had allowed their names to be prefixed to it in attestation of the genuineness of its contents, were understood as expressing their approbation of the doctrine which it contained, or at least as in so far giving countenance to it. Dr Daniel Williams, and several other ministers of high reputation, both for piety and talents, keenly opposed what they conceived to be the Antinomian opinions of Dr Crisp ; but in opposing these they condemned some important truths of the gospel as Antinomian, and advocated a scheme of doctrine midway between Baxterianism and Calvinism, or rather refined upon Baxter's opinions. This led Traill, Dr Isaac Chauncey, Mr Elisha Cole, Mr Thomas Goodwin junior, and others, also men distinguished for piety and talents, to come forward in defence of the doctrines of grace in opposition to the new opinions of the Baxterian school, as put forth by Dr Williams and his adherents. Thus two parties were formed ; and the controversy was carried on with considerable heat for several years. Many pamphlets were published on both sides, but of these only a few can be here named. Dr Williams published, in 1692, a small tract in 8vo, entitled " Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated ;" in which he attempted to refute twenty positions laid down by Dr Crisp ; and to this were prefixed the names of several ministers, expressing their approbation of it. This tract was taken up and refuted with great warmth by Dr Chauncey, in his " Neonomianism Unmasked ;" and Mr Nathaniel Mather published a sermon about justification on the same side. Dr Williams answered in two works, the one entitled " A Defence of Gospel Truth," and the other, " Man made Righteous." Mr

George Griffyth, and other Congregational ministers, drew up and subscribed a paper of exceptions against several passages in "Gospel Truth Stated," &c., and Dr Williams replied in a Postscript to his third edition.*

Traill did not delight in contention, but into this controversy he entered with the zeal of one who felt that he was set for the defence of the Gospel. His letter to a minister in the country, entitled "A Vindication of the Protestant Doctrine concerning Justification, and of its Preachers and Professors, from the unjust charge of Antinomianism,"† throws much light upon the most essential truths of the gospel, and shews how fully he understood the points controverted, as well as perceived their importance in the ministrations of the pulpit. His opponents repudiated the name of Arminians, and professed their assent to the Westminster Assembly's Confession of Faith and Catechisms, as well as to the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England. "But," says he, after quoting the answer to the question in the Larger Catechism, How doth faith justify a sinner in the sight of God? "can any considering man think that the new scheme, of a real change, repentance, and sincere obedience, as necessary to be found in a person that may lawfully come to

* Brown's History of the British Churches, vol. i. p. 344. Brown's Gospel Truth, p. 437. Dr Calamy's Life written by himself, vol. i. pp. 321—324. From Calamy's account of this controversy the reader can have no correct idea of the real matter in dispute. He belonged to the party represented by Dr Williams, and would have it believed that they were contending all the while solely against Antinomianism, which Traill and those on his side were defending.

† This is published in Traill's Select Writings, Free Church Publications. Calamy calls this "an angry letter." Life, vol. i. p. 324. It is on the contrary written with much calmness, but at the same time with an earnestness and firmness which indicate the author's conviction that what he defends is vitally important truths, and that what he opposes is dangerous error.

Christ for justification ; of faith's justifying, as it is the spring of sincere obedience ; of a man's being justified by and upon his coming up to the terms of the new law of grace (a new word but of an old and ill meaning) ; can any man think that this scheme and the sound words of the Reverend Assembly do agree ?" His opponents accused him and his friends of holding the sentiments of Dr Crisp, to which they were far from giving an unqualified assent. " Let not Dr Crisp's book," says he, " be looked upon as the standard of our doctrine, there are many good things in it, and also many expressions in it which we generally dislike." And in reference to the charge of Antinomianism he observes, " Is it not a little provoking that some are so captious that no minister can preach in the hearing of some of the freedom of God's grace ; of the imputation of Christ's righteousness ; of sole and single believing on him for righteousness and eternal life ; of the impossibility of a natural man's doing any good work, before he be in Christ ; of the impossibility of the mixing of man's righteousness and works with Christ's righteousness in the business of justification, and several other points, but he is immediately called or suspected to be an Antinomian ? If we say that faith in Jesus Christ is neither work nor condition, nor qualification in justification, but is a mere instrument, receiving (as an empty hand receiveth the freely given alms) the righteousness of Christ ; and that in its very act it is a renouncing of all things but the gift of grace ; the fire is kindled." But not only did his opponents charge him and his brethren who did not receive the new divinity with holding Antinomian tenets, they were also very liberal in stigmatizing them as ignorant, weak, and unstudied divines ; claiming,

it would seem, all the talent and learning to their own side. This Traill was disposed to overlook. "But," says he, "when we see the pure gospel of Christ corrupted, and an Arminian gospel new vampt, and obtruded on people, to the certain peril of the souls of such as believe it, and our ministry reflected upon, which should be dearer to us than our lives, can we be silent? As we have a charge from the Lord, to declare to our people what we have received from him, so as he calls and enables, we are not to give place by subjection, no, not for an hour, to such as creep in not only to spy out but to destroy, not so much the gospel liberty as the gospel salvation we have in Christ Jesus, and to bring us back under the yoke of legal bondage."

Various attempts were made to compose the differences between these ministers; and at last, after hot debates for several years, they agreed to refer their differences to a man whom they both held in high estimation for the extent of his learning, the solidity of his judgment, the soundness of his theological opinions, as well as the lustre of his piety, the celebrated Herman Witsius, Professor of Divinity at Utrecht. This eminent divine, at their desire, undertook the delicate office of an arbitrator between them; and after carefully perusing the books which they sent to him on both sides of the question, and weighing the arguments in favour of their respective views, he composed his *Animadversiones Irenicæ*, or *Conciliatory Animadversions*, first published at Utrecht in the year 1696; a work which, from its ability and success in unravelling the intricacies and perplexity in which the question had been involved, as well as from its candour and impartiality, was eminently fitted to extinguish the

flame of controversy, and to restore harmony of sentiment between the contending theologians.

Of Traill's future history little is known ; but he lived after this many years in the discharge of his ministerial duties. He died in May 1716, at the advanced age of seventy-four.

Traill is the author of various religious works, of which the following is a list :—1. A Sermon on “ By what means may ministers best win souls ?” 2. Vindication of the Protestant Doctrine concerning Justification, and of its Preachers and Professors, from the unjust charge of Antinomianism. 3. Thirteen Discourses on the Throne of Grace, from Heb. iv. 16. 4. Sixteen Sermons on the Prayer of our Saviour in John xvii. 24. All these were published during his lifetime. 5. Stedfast Adherence to the Profession of our Faith, in twenty-one Sermons on Heb. x. 23. 6. Eleven Sermons on 1 Peter i. 1–4. 7. Six Sermons on Galatians ii. 21. The last three volumes were published from his manuscripts after his death. Ten additional sermons of his have lately been published, for the first time, in the Cheap Publications of the Free Church of Scotland, from his MSS. in the possession of some of his descendants. All his writings exhibit an accurate and deep acquaintance with the gospel scheme, and they have been long deservedly esteemed by judicious Christians of all denominations. In the beginning of the 18th century when the Baxterian opinions, or a refined Arminianism, was preached by many of the ministers of the Church of Scotland, and even by several devoted and good men, Traill's works, finding their way into this country, were eminently useful in giving both ministers and private Christians clearer views of the doctrines of grace ; and at the

time when the Marrow controversy was at its height, his works were printed by the friends of the Marrow doctrine.* As an instance of the high estimation in which his writings were held, and of the comfort and establishment of heart which they were the means of imparting, we may quote the following passage from the Diary of Ebenezer Erskine, the father of the Secession :—" 1721. Saturday, about twelve of the day, I have been directed this forenoon to read in Mr Traill, on the Throne of Grace, Heb. iv. last verse ; a text that has sometimes been sweet and pleasant to me, but I think never more sweet than this day. I bless the Lord who directed that honest man to preach and write on this blessed subject ; and I bless the Lord that brought his book to my hand, and that directed me to read it this day. I read some of it with tears of joy."†

* Brown's Gospel Truth, pp. 5, 36.

† Fraser's Life of Ebenezer Erskine, p. 140.

JOHN M'GILLIGEN.

JOHN M'GILLIGEN was, prior to the Restoration, minister of Foddertie, a parish lying partly in Ross-shire and partly in the shire of Cromarty, chiefly in the beautiful and arable vale of Strathpeffer, west from Dingwall. Having been admitted since the year 1649 he fell under the operation of the act of Parliament passed in 1662, which ordained that all ministers who had been admitted since 1649, as they had not entered by presentations from patrons, should receive presentations from their respective patrons, and also collation from the Bishops of their respective dioceses, under the penalty of deprivation. With the terms of this act he refused to comply, and was in consequence forced to leave his charge. The patron offered to present him to the parish, but he declined the gift, persuaded that the acceptance of it, though it might relieve him from much outward trouble, was inconsistent with his duty to God, and his own solemn engagements. "I reckon the acceptance of that," said he, "as destroying the foundation which God has laid in this Church, to the maintenance of which I am bound by solemn oath." Like the rest of the ejected ministers, he had peaceably left his charge, not because he acknowledged

the justice of that cruel act, by which so many honest and conscientious ministers were extruded; but because he deemed it needless to contend with the secular arm which could easily effect his expulsion. The malice of the prelates against him was not, however, satisfied with seeing him separated from his flock. The Bishop of Ross* summoned him before his Diocesan Synod in 1663; and on his not appearing, passed a sentence of deposition against him because he did not appear, because he had never attended that court, and because he preached, prayed, and reasoned against prelatical government. The sentence was intimated by the bishop's orders, in the kirk of Foddertie on the last day of May 1663.

Leaving Foddertie, he came and dwelt at a house of his own at Alness; and not feeling the bishop's sentence of deposition binding on his conscience, he continued to preach wherever an opportunity offered in that part of the country, where the pure and faithful preaching of the gospel was much needed, it being less generally diffused there than in the south and west of Scotland. Nor were his labours without evident tokens of the divine blessing, many having been brought by his ministry to the saving knowledge of divine truth, while others were established in the faith. After this he was subjected by the restless violence of the bishop of the bounds and his creatures to almost incessant harassings for many years, which he endured with undaunted fortitude. The manifest success which attended his ministry where it was exercised, the consciousness of

* The Bishop of Ross at this time was Mr John Paterson. He was minister first at Foveran, next at Aberdeen, and was advanced to the See of Ross on the 18th of January 1662, where he sat till his death in the year 1679. He was the father of John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow. Keith's Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 203.

suffering in a good cause, a sense of the divine approbation and presence, encouraged and sustained him amidst all that was outwardly painful and trying. Many attempts were made to seize him ; but for a long time he was preserved from falling into the hands of his persecutors, and often met with hairbreadth escapes, so remarkable as could hardly be accounted for in any other way than by the special interposition of a gracious Providence, which ever watches over the good. The bishop, mortified to find that, in spite of his ejection from his parish, and in defiance of the sentence of deposition, the refractory presbyter still continued to preach, and with much success, threatened to excommunicate him. M'Gilligen cared little about the boasted anathemas of an arrogant and enraged prelate, whose sentence, although it might be sanctioned by his Diocesan Synod, would yet want the stamp of the broad seal of Heaven, and when informed by a friend of this intention, calmly observed, "I have already heard that Balaam has designed to curse me, but I do not question that it will end like Shimei's cursing David." The bishop and his parasites finding that the censure by being despised would but display the feebleness of their wrath and render them contemptible, considered it wisest to allow the thunder to sleep.

Other severe measures against him were however adopted ; and he continued till near the Revolution the victim of almost unremitting persecution. In 1668 the Bishop of Murray* sent information to the Council

* The Bishop of Murray at this time was Mr Murdoch M'Kenzie, who was first minister of Contane in the shire of Ross, from which he was translated to Inverness in the year 1640, and from thence to Elgin on the 17th of April 1645, where he continued until the restoration of Episcopacy in 1662, when he was made Bishop of Murray. From this he was translated to the See of Orkney in the year 1677, where he continued until his death,

against him, Mr Thomas Hog of Kiltearn, and Mr Thomas Urquhart, another minister in the north, for preaching in their own houses and keeping conventicles. Upon which the Council grant commission, on the 30th of July, to the Earl of Murray and Lord Duffus, to apprehend and imprison them in Forres ; and there they continued for some time, but were at length liberated through the influence of the Earl of Tweeddale, who procured an order to that effect, upon their giving bail to appear when called.* In 1674, he and some other ministers in the north, as well as a considerable number in other parts of the country, were charged, at the market-cross of the principal towns, to appear before the Council, and answer to the complaint against them for keeping conventicles ; and on their not appearing, the Council, on the 16th of July that year, ordain them to be denounced his Majesty's rebels, and to be put to the horn.† In August next year, the Council, as we have seen before,‡ addressed a letter to the Earl of Murray, requiring him to execute the laws against the keepers of conventicles in the shire of Elgin, as well as the neighbour-

which happened in February 1688. He was nearly a hundred years old, and yet enjoyed the perfect use of all his faculties to the very last. Keith's *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, p. 228. M'Kenzie is said to have sworn the Covenant ten times, and, according to others, not less than fourteen times. But ambition and the love of filthy lucre prevailing against the sanctities of the most solemn oaths, he accepted the bishoprick of Murray. Wodrow MSS. vol. xxx. 4to, no. 1. Renegades have generally proved the most violent persecutors ; and to this rule M'Kenzie was no exception. His former friends, M'Gilligen, Hog, and Urquhart, who had also sworn the Covenant, though not half so often as he had done, were simply acting in conformity with the tenor of their oath, which, as they had in them the fear of God, they could not disregard, and for this they became the objects of his relentless hostility.

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 112.

† Wodrow History, vol. ii. p. 244.

‡ See page 99.

ing places; and in the same month M'Gilligen was inter-communed.

But these proceedings did not discourage him, or have the effect of slackening his energies in the discharge of his ministry. He still continued to preach, and on one occasion he dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This solemnity, of which an interesting account has been preserved, was celebrated in September 1675 at Obsdale, in the house of the Lady Dowager of Fowlis, to a goodly number of serious persons, who were very desirous to partake of that ordinance, after he had been at much pains, both by public preaching, and in visiting from house to house, to prepare them for its due observance. His assistants on this occasion were Mr Hugh Anderson, minister of Cromarty, and Mr Alexander Fraser, minister of Teviot, afterwards of Abbotshall, men like himself of eminent piety, and sufferers in the same cause; and this proved a season of much spiritual comfort and refreshment, both to ministers and people. Mr Anderson preached the preparation sermon from 2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19, "The good Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary." M'Gilligen preached the action sermon from Song v. 1, "Eat, O friends; drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved." When the solemn work of communicating was over, Mr Fraser addressed the people in the afternoon from these words, Eph. v. 16, "Redeeming the time, because the days are evil;" and M'Gilligen concluded the services by a sermon from 1 Chron. xxix. 18, "O Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, our fathers, keep this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of the heart of thy people, and prepare their heart unto thee." "At this

last sermon," says Wodrow, "there was a plentiful effusion of the Spirit upon a great many present; and the oldest Christians there declared they had not been witnesses to the like. In short," continues the same historian, "there were so sensible and glorious discoveries made of the Son of Man, and such evident presence of the Master of assemblies, this day and the preceding, that the people seemed to be in a transport, and their souls filled with heaven, and breathing thither while their bodies were upon the earth; and some were almost at that, 'Whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell!' Even some drops fell on strangers: there was one poor man, who had formerly no profession of religion, but came to Obsdale perfectly out of curiosity, who was sensibly wrought upon. At his return, one of his neighbours having got notice where he had been, said to him, 'He was a great fool to lose his cow and his horse,' which were all he had to sustain him; and assured him they would be taken from him. The other answered, 'You are more to be pitied, who was not so happy as to be there; for my part, if the Lord would maintain in me what I hope I have won to, I would not only part with these, but my head likewise, if called to it.'"*

The celebration of the communion ordinance by the Presbyterians exasperated the government and bishops even more than the meetings held by them simply for preaching the gospel; the greater solemnity of the ordinance awakening, it would appear, a deeper malignity and a more unrelenting rancour. Whenever intelligence concerning such solemn observances was received, soldiers and others were sent forth to dissolve the meeting, and to apprehend the ministers and such

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285.

of the people as could be got. In the present instance, the Bishop of Murray, hearing of the intended celebration of the Lord's Supper, instigated Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Finden, sheriff-depute of the county, a man of moderation when left to himself, to send a party of soldiers to apprehend M'Gilligen. But the services met with only a slight and temporary interruption. Assuming that the solemnity would take place in his own house at Alness, the soldiers came thither on the Sabbath; and not finding the object of their pursuit, began to plunder his orchard, an occupation in which they spent considerable time, and then went to Obsdale, to disperse the conventicle and seize upon M'Gilligen. But before their arrival the forenoon's work was over; and the meeting being informed of the approach of the soldiers, broke up. The people quickly withdrew, and the ministers concealed themselves. The party, however, having orders to apprehend only M'Gilligen, on failing to find him, soon left the place; and the ministers again meeting with the people in the afternoon, the solemn services of the day were brought to a comfortable conclusion without farther disturbance.*

After the celebration of this communion, M'Gilligen, to escape the rage of the prelates, was under the necessity of keeping himself for some time concealed. In the following year he was invited by his beloved brother, Mr Hugh Anderson, who had assisted him on that interesting occasion, to baptize his child. With this invitation he cheerfully complied, and after dispensing the ordinance, was induced to stay all night with his friend. This proved the occasion of his falling into the hands of his enemies. Next morning he was arrested

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 285.

by three servants of the Earl of Seaforth, who had been sent by that nobleman to Mr Anderson's house for that purpose. It is a singular circumstance that, on retiring to rest the previous night, he dreamed three times successively that there were three men come to the house to apprehend him. When he first awoke, as he paid little attention to dreams, his dream made no particular impression on his mind, and he would doubtless ascribe it to the circumstances in which he was placed ; for, being an intercommuned person, and often eagerly searched for by the agents of the prelates, such an idea would very naturally occur to his thoughts in the slumbers of the night. He again fell asleep, and dreamed the same thing a second time. On awaking he endeavoured to banish the idea from his mind ; but again falling asleep, the same dream was renewed the third time. To lay stress on dreams in general is superstitious, and an indication of mental weakness ; but it is possible for a dream to be of such a description that it can hardly be altogether disregarded by a man of the strongest intellect, and the farthest removed from superstition. When M'Gilligen awoke the third time, he began to think with some concern, that this might be a premonition that bonds and imprisonments were awaiting him. Musing on these things, he arose from his bed to unburden his mind at the throne of grace, and to commit himself to the care and protection of God, whatever might befall him. His fears were soon realized. Before he had dressed himself, three servants of the Earl of Seaforth, who had got information where he was, came to the house to make him their prisoner. At this he was not a little surprised, not expecting such treatment from that nobleman, and especially as it was illegal, the Earl, who was only Sheriff of Ross-shire, having no

power within the shire of Cromarty, where M'Gilligen now was ; but he afterwards learned that the Earl acted by the instigation of Paterson, bishop of Ross.

M'Gilligen was immediately carried to Fortrose, and there committed to prison. The speech by which he defended himself before the Provost of that burgh, to whom orders were sent to receive him into custody, is characterised by that dignity, independence, and decision, which became a man against whom his greatest adversaries could not find any occasion, " except concerning the law of his God." It is as follows :—

" MY LORD,—I look upon it as a special piece of the providence of Him whose eyes look to and fro through the earth, proving himself mighty in behalf of them who fear him, that he hath ordered my lot to fall in your hands, endued with so much discerning, and who is no stranger in our Israel, but, on the contrary, well acquainted with the controversies of the times, and the cause for which I am apprehended.

" I bless the Most High, whose I am, and whom I desire to serve in the gospel of his Son, so far as I can search into myself, I find no evil in my heart, nor iniquity in my hand, against his Majesty's person or authority, whose I am, and to whom I submit in the Lord. In testimony whereof, I have given, (in so far as could consist with my duty to the Lord, and the light and peace of my own conscience,) a submission unto and observation of his laws ; but for abjured prelacy, and perjured prelates, that stem and those twigs which the Father's right hand hath never planted nor watered, being a seed which the evil one hath sown while the servants were asleep, and hath produced so much of sin and suffering in this land, I look on myself as obliged before the Lord to refuse, oppose, and bear testimony against it, not only by a *subjective* obligation, from the day I lifted up my hand and swore to the Most High God to endeavour in my station and place the extirpation and eradication of that cursed root of bitterness ; but also by a *moral objective* obligation from the word of God, which knows none

of these creatures, but hath sufficiently reproved them, and rebuked the spirit of Antichrist when it made its first appearance in the world, sounding out of the mouths of the disciples, 'Which shall be greatest in the kingdom of God?' The Apostles, being convinced of and humbled for their sinful ambition, opposed the same spirit making its next illustrious appearances in the world; Diotrephes is condemned for affecting the pre-eminence. For this testimony I am willing to go to prison, and be judged at Cæsar's tribunal."*

Such were the principles of M'Gilligen. His prince's authority he owned, and all his lawful commands he was ready to obey; but to Prelacy, though enjoined by royal mandate, he could not submit, as he believed it to be contrary to the word of God, whose authority being superior to man's, can never be mutilated or set aside by the decrees of any earthly monarch. These principles, which he now boldly asserted, he continued till the day of his death uncompromisingly to maintain, amidst all the sufferings and temptations of a persecuted life.

After lying for some time in the tolbooth of Fortrose, he was, by an act of the Privy Council, 11th October 1676, ordered to be transported from county to county till he reached Edinburgh, where he was to be imprisoned. The act is as follows:—

"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council do ordain Mr John M'Gilligen, an intercommuned person, now prisoner in the tolbooth of [Fortrose]† in Murray, to be transported to the tolbooth of Edinburgh; and to that effect grant order and warrant to the Sheriff of Murray, or his deputies, to take the person of the said Mr John M'Gilligen into his custody, and

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 334.

† There is a blank here in the Register, but we learn the name of the place from Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 334. Fortrose, however, is not in the shire of Murray but in Ross-shire.

to carry him prisoner to the Sheriff of the next adjacent shire, and so forth from Sheriff to Sheriff, until he be brought to Leith ; and ordain the Magistrates of Edinburgh to receive him there, and to commit him prisoner in their tolbooth until further orders."

The order contained in this act was delivered by the Earl of Seaforth to Sir Hugh Campbell of Caddel, sheriff of Nairn, as being the next sheriff on the road to Edinburgh. This gentleman, who was very friendly to the Presbyterians, "instead of conveying M'Gilligen to the next sheriff," to use the words of the Privy Council, "kept and entertained him as his chaplain, and permitted him to keep conventicles, and," to spread a colour over their injustice they add, "commit several other disorders, to the disturbance of the peace of that country;" although the probability is, that if he did any thing else with which they could find fault but preach, it was simply to baptize a child or to unite a couple in marriage. On receiving information of this, the Committee of the Privy Council issued "a citation against the Sheriff of Nairn, to compear before the Council the first of March next, to answer for that crime, and to bring with him, exhibit, and produce before the Council the person of the said Mr John M'Gilligen." This report was given in to the Council on the 1st of February 1677, and approved.*

This case came again before the Committee of Council for Public Affairs, who, on the 1st of March 1677, gave in to the Council the following report:—"We having considered the affair anent the stopping of Mr John M'Gilligen, an intercommuned person, upon the road from Ross to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, notwithstanding of the Council's order, and the not return-

* Register of Acts of Privy Council, 1st February 1677.

ing of the letters issued forth against the Laird of Caddell at the day appointed, we have thought fit to order letters to be directed to messengers-at-arms to charge the Laird of Caddell to enter the person of the said Mr John M'Gilligen in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and to bring him there upon his own expenses against the first of April next, under the pain of rebellion, and have continued any further procedure in that affair anent the stopping of the prisoner, and keeping back the letters, till the same be further considered, and have appointed a missive to be directed to the Earl of Seaforth, herewith produced." This letter to Seaforth was intended severely to reprimand him for his lenity in allowing the Sheriff of Nairn to extend to M'Gilligen so much liberty.*

Having been at length brought to Edinburgh, M'Gilligen was thrown into prison.† After lying there for several months, he had some prospect of being released, as appears from a report of the Committee of Council for Public Affairs, given in to the Council on the 9th of October 1677, in which they express it as their opinion, "that Mr John M'Gilligen, prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, be liberated, he finding caution to confine himself to the Isle of Isla, and for going to and keeping the said confinement *ut supra* for Mr Thomas Hog."‡ But this proposal of the Committee was not carried into effect, for we find him after this a prisoner

* Warrants of Privy Council; and Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 355.

† Mr John Carstairs, in a letter to Mr Robert M'Ward, dated March 28. 1677, says, "One Mr John M'Gilligen is brought hither prisoner from the north, where Mr Thomas Hog is also taken, and to be brought hither, two worthy and useful men. Mr Thomas Ross is prisoner at Tain there, and they are hopeful, I hear, to catch Mr Urquhart also, and so the whole country of Murray is like to be laid desolate." Wodrow MSS., vol. lix., folio, no. 58.

‡ See p. 191.

in the Bass. In this place of confinement he was at first permitted to enjoy, in a great degree, the liberty of the rock, but, within a short period, he was so closely confined, and subjected to so severe restrictions, as not to be allowed a servant to make his bed or to prepare his food, so that he was under the necessity of performing these menial offices for himself. Hard as this was, having peace of conscience and peace with God, he enjoyed great serenity of mind. He records in his Diary, that when the nether springs were embittered, the upper springs flowed sweetly and copiously, and that he could say, from experience, that "the sweetness of heavenly joy is so great, that if only one small drop were to flow down into hell, it would swallow up all the bitterness of that region of misery." "Since I was a prisoner," he farther says, "I dwelt at ease, and lived securely." He at length was permitted sometimes to walk upon the rock, through the influence of Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbet.* Sir George (though he was a violent cavalier, and the chief instigator of the Act

* Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbet was nominated one of the Lords of Session on the 14th of February 1661. Being the inventor and manager of the celebrated act of billeting, attached to the king's indemnity for Scotland, issued in 1662, by which it was hoped for ever to exclude Lauderdale and his friends from office, but which only served to accelerate the downfall of Middleton, Mackenzie's patron, (see Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 270,) he was on that account deprived of his seat on the bench on the 16th of February 1664. He remained in disgrace during the principal part of the administration of Lauderdale, but at length having succeeded in mollifying that statesman, he was appointed Justice-General on the 16th of October 1678, and on the 11th of November following was made a Privy Councillor. He was admitted one of the Lords Ordinary on the 1st of November 1681, having been appointed Clerk Register in place of Sir Archibald Primrose of Carrington, by patent, dated 16th October that year. On the accession of James VII., he was created Viscount of Tarbet, Lord Macleod, and Castlehaven, and on the accession of Queen Anne was dignified with the title of Earl of Cromarty. Brunton and Haig's Senators of the College of Justice, p. 356.

Rescissory, by which the proceedings of all the previous parliaments in favour of Presbytery, since 1633, were at once annulled,) had a great respect for M'Gilligen, and, on returning from his travels, having visited the Bass, prevailed with the governor to mitigate the restrictions imposed upon him. This mitigation, though small, was felt by M'Gilligen to be a great favour, and he records it in his Diary with marked gratitude to that gentleman.

In 1679, on the granting of the king's indemnity after the insurrection at Bothwell Bridge, M'Gilligen was liberated from the Bass, simply upon finding security to appear before the Council when called, under the penalty of ten thousand merks Scots money. Sir Hugh Campbell of Caddell became his surety.*

M'Gilligen having been released without coming under any engagement to refrain from keeping conventicles, immediately resumed the work of preaching. Nor does he appear to have been again molested till 1682, when the Privy Council, being informed that he had "relapsed into his former guilt in keeping of conventicles, disorderly baptisms and marriages, to the endangering of the peace of the country where he lives," institute new proceedings against him. On the 30th of November that year, they pass an act, "requiring the Earl of Seaforth, sheriff of the shire of Ross, to cause intimation be made to the said Mr John M'Gilligen, by way of instrument, to sist himself before the Council at the council-bar, upon the [18th] day of January next, to answer to any thing can be laid to his charge, under the penalty contained in his said bond in case of failure: As also do require the Lord Down, sheriff of Nairn, to

* See Notice of William Bell, pp. 116-118; and Register of Acts of Privy Council, November 30. 1682.

cause likewise intimate to the said Laird of Caddell, cautioner for the said Mr John M'Gilligen in manner foresaid, that he sist the said Mr John at the council-bar the said day, under the foresaid penalty contained in the said bond ; and appoint the said sheriffs of Ross and Nairn to return an account of their obedience hereto, and the said instruments of intimation, with all speed and diligence."*

M'Gilligen, in obedience to the citation, appeared before the Council on the 18th of January 1683, when a long libel was read by the clerk against him, in which he is charged with having, ever since his liberation, kept house and field conventicles, with having withdrawn from the public ordinances in his own parish church, and with having been guilty of marrying different individuals, and of administering the ordinance of baptism, all which are declared to be contrary to diverse laws and acts of Parliament. Being requested to answer these grounds of complaint, he began to address the Council in self-defence, but had not proceeded far when he was interrupted. The reason of this interruption, as he afterwards learned, was, that Mr James Fraser of Brea had, some time before, delivered a speech in the presence of the Duke of York and Council, in which he vindicated with such success the principles on account of which he and the Presbyterians suffered, as to produce no small impression in favour both of himself and the cause, so that the prelates and their party were afraid, if men of such talents as M'Gilligen

* In reference to this, Fountainhall says, " At Privy Council, Campbell of Caddell is called as cautioner for producing one M'Gilligen, a nonconformist minister ; and they thought to have gotten his bond forfeited, but he had the man ready to sist. They remembered Caddell's opposing the Duke's interest in the Parliament 1681." (Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 206.)

should be allowed to defend themselves, and explain the reasons of their nonconformity, that those who listened, and even the members of Council themselves, might be convinced that the Presbyterian ministers suffered unjustly, and that the aspersions so liberally cast upon them by their enemies, as men of mean parts as well as of disloyal principles and obstinate tempers, were groundless, and had been invented to render them odious, reminding one of the cruel device of the Pagan persecutors, who sewed up the primitive Christians in the skins of wild beasts, that they might be torn in pieces by the fury of dogs. Prevented from proceeding in his speech, he was required by the Council either simply to admit the truth of the charges in the libel, or to deny them. Though some of these were true, such as his baptizing and preaching, yet as others of them were false, such as his keeping field conventicles, which he never did, meetings of this kind being unnecessary in the shire of Ross, where the number of nonconformists was few, compared with those in the south and west of Scotland, and his baptizing children to several individuals who never had any; and as he was required simply to admit or to deny the charges, he denied them. The Council, unsatisfied with this, adopting the inquisitorial and summary mode of finding a pannel guilty then in use, referred the truth of the whole matter to his oath. Refusing to depone upon oath as to the articles in the libel, regarding it as illegal to oblige him to become his own accuser in matters which the law had made criminal, his refusal was considered as amounting to a confession of guilt, and he was fined in the sum of 5000 merks Scots, and ordained to be imprisoned till he should pay it, and find security, under the penalty of an additional 5000 merks, that

he should not preach at conventicles, baptize, or marry, or else that he should bind himself to remove out of the kingdom, and not to return without the king's licence.

This sentence being deemed too lenient by some of the more violent members of the Council who were absent from that meeting, and who were very anxious to find him if possible guilty of treason, Sir William Paterson was sent to the prison to examine such prisoners as had at any time heard M'Gilligen preach or who were acquainted with him, to see if he could draw out of them information as to any thing he had uttered, either in private or public, which might be construed or stretched into a charge of treason. But, after the most thorough investigation, Sir William had the candour to acknowledge, that the loyalty of M'Gilligen's principles was unimpeachable, and that so far from denying the king's authority, he was accustomed to pray for him most fervently on all public occasions.*

M'Gilligen continued prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh for above half a year, and during that time was eminently useful in comforting many who were his fellow-prisoners for the same cause, and by the mildness and gentleness of his deportment gained so much upon the affections of even the jailors, that they were sorry on his being removed from them to the Bass. The act of Council for his removal, dated 28th July 1683, is as follows:—"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council ordain the persons of Mr John M'Gilligen, Mr John Philip, and Mr John Spreul, at present prisoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, to be transported from thence to the Isle of the Bass, and recommend to General

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii. pp. 435, 436.

Dalziel to order a party immediately to receive and transport them to the said place."

On the same day the Council agreed upon a series of instructions by which the governor of the Bass and the deputy-governor* were to be regulated, from which the reader will perceive the harshness with which the prisoners were treated. These instructions are as follows:—

"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council ordain the governor of the Bass and the deputy-governor to observe the instructions following as to any prisoners already there, or who shall be sent to that place.

"1. That they allow no men-servants to the prisoners, but only such women-servants as the governor-depute shall appoint and allow.

"2. That the prisoners receive no papers nor letters, nor send any to any person whatsoever, but such as shall be seen and perused by the said governor.

"3. That the governor may allow two of the prisoners at one time to have the liberty of the island above the walls betwixt sunrising and sunsetting, and these two are to be shut up in their chambers before other two come out, provided this liberty be not given to any that are or shall be ordered to be close prisoners.

"4. That there be two persons only permitted at one time to come from the shore to see the prisoners, and that there be always some officer or soldier in the garrison present to hear what discourse shall pass betwixt the prisoner and them; and if they be suspected to have papers or letters for the prisoners, that they be searched and the said letters and papers seized on. And the said governor is to observe the instructions fore-said till further order, as he will be answerable."

M'Gilligen was at this time confined in the Bass

* The governor of the Bass at this time was James Earl of Perth, who was appointed to that situation by his Majesty on the 24th of October 1682, upon the death of the Duke of Lauderdale. The deputy-governor was Charles Maitland.

during the greater part of three years, and subjected not only to these severe restrictions, but to others which the deputy-governor from caprice, and without the authority of the Council, thought proper to impose. But he endured all in a manner becoming a Christian. This we learn from his Diary, in which he records his religious exercise and experience. His serenity of mind arising from faith in the truths and promises of God's word, his meekness towards his persecutors, the tenderness of his domestic attachments, and the deep interest he felt in the public interests of religion, are all prominently brought out in that document. A few extracts from it during this period will not be unacceptable to the pious reader.

"*Bass, October 15. 1683.*—This hath been a day of gladness of heart to me. The Lord was pleased to let out abundantly of his holy Spirit, convincing of sin, confirming me in the assurance of pardon, comforting me in the hopes of mercy, and deliverance to myself and family, and to his oppressed people and interest.

"*Bass, October 19. 1683.*—The felt joy and sense of the former day hath continued since with me ; my soul dwelt at ease without any burden or weight. This day was a brother and friend to the former, wherein the Lord did communicate himself by enlarging my heart, melting my spirit and breaking upon me with a full gale. My graces were in exercise ; faith, hope, and meekness of spirit acted their part. My heart with cheerfulness said unto the Lord, ' Thou art my holy one, my only one, my fair and pleasant one ; thy overcoming love hath mastered me.' My hope and expectation of deliverance for myself and others was confirmed. ' In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.' This top of the rock was to me a Peniel, where the Lord's face in some measure was seen.

"*Bass, November, 1683.*—This was a day of sweet outpouring of the Spirit ; I hope good will follow. Many sweet

and apposite places of Scripture, both in reading and prayer was I trysted with concerning myself, children, the people and work of God, and enemies. ‘The daughter of Babylon will come down and sit in the dust; there will be no throne for her; her nakedness will be uncovered; vengeance will overtake her; He will not meet her as a man. She trusts in her wickedness; desolation will suddenly come upon her; but the Lord will place salvation in Zion for Israel his glory.’

“*Bass, September 23. 1684.*—This day I got my heart poured out before the Lord, for the distress, destruction, and desolation of the land, and for the ruin and overthrow of his interest. The Lord will have mercy and heal, recover his own glory, reform his church, restore his ordinances, purge his servants, and cause sacrifice to be offered in righteousness to himself. The Lord will send the rod of his strength out of Zion, he will rule in the midst of his enemies. He hath drank of the brook in the way, and therefore hath he lifted up his head, and is exalted far above all principalities and powers. He will strike with his right hand and with it bring back the ark and the glory, and cause the days of joy and gladness to be according to the days of sorrow and sadness we have seen.”*

We have seen before that M’Gilligen was fined in the sum of 5000 merks Scots. This fine he had never paid, and accordingly summons of adjudication was raised against twenty-four bolls of victual he drew from some property in the shire of Ross. This laid his wife, whose maiden name was Catherine Monro, under the necessity of coming south, and petitioning the Privy Council that a stop might be put to these proceedings. In her petition, which came before the Council on the 29th of November 1683, she humbly shews, that she has “no means of livelihood whereby to maintain herself and a numerous family of eight children, and to relieve her husband during his imprisonment, but

* Wodrow’s History, vol. iii. p. 436.

only twenty-four bolls victual land in the shire of Ross, and which, with the petitioner's industry, is less than can maintain her poor husband and children, so that many time they are reduced to great hardships and straits for want of bread to live on, notwithstanding of which, and of the great misery the petitioner is reduced to with her children, yet the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland and Mr Wallace, his Majesty's cash-keeper, have raised an adjudication of that twenty-four bolls victual for payment of the foresaid fine, so that if he shall proceed therein, the petitioner's husband and children will infallibly perish and starve for want of bread to maintain them." She farther states, that her "husband never sought any aliment during his imprisonment; and that if the said small quantity of twenty-four bolls yearly be taken from the petitioner, she, her husband, and her eight children, will be driven to extreme penury, and the whole of it will not compensate what will be necessary to maintain her husband in prison, even according to his Majesty's allowance to others in his case, whereby as it will ruin the petitioner and her family, so it will be rather loss than advantage to his Majesty."* Through the influence of Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbet, M'Gilligen was relieved from his heavy fine.

M'Gilligen at length being attacked by a dangerous sickness, petitioned the Council for liberty to come to a chamber in Edinburgh, that he might use means for his recovery; and by the friendly influence of the individual just named this was granted, but he was to be confined to his chamber. Application was afterwards made for his being set entirely at liberty, which was

* Decrees of Privy Council, November 29. 1683; Wodrow's History, vol. iii. p. 437.

granted ; but from the hurry of the Council on the day on which the act was passed, the president omitted to subscribe it, and it did not therefore take effect. Accordingly M'Gilligen, who still continued under great sickness, presented a second petition. But through the hostility of Bishop Paterson* then president of the Committee of Council, the liberty granted him at their meeting of the 27th of July 1686 was limited to a certain period. He was to be set at liberty upon his finding caution acted in the books of Privy Council, to compare before the Council the first council-day in November next, or to re-enter his confinement in his chamber within the town of Edinburgh as formerly, under the penalty of five thousand merks Scots in case of failure.†

Upon this he removed to his own residence at Alness, for the benefit of his native air. Such in that place, and in the surrounding districts, as had enjoyed the blessing of his ministry, delighted to hear of his return, flocked to his house to inquire concerning his health after years of separation. Still continuing under illness,

* John Paterson, Bishop of Edinburgh, was the son of John Paterson, sometime Bishop of Ross. He was first minister at Ellon in the shire of Aberdeen, and afterwards minister of the Tron Church and dean of the city of Edinburgh. By the interest of the Duke of Lauderdale, he was preferred to the See of Galloway on the 23d of October 1674, and on the 29th of March 1679 was translated to the bishoprick of Edinburgh. In 1687 he became Archbishop of Glasgow, but was deprived of the archiepiscopal See by the Revolution. He died at Edinburgh on the 8th of December 1708. Keith's Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 282. If the "Answer to Presbyterian Eloquence" may be credited, his life was far from being irreproachable. Various lampoons were published at his expense. "He is said to have kissed his band-strings in the pulpit in the midst of an eloquent discourse, which was the signal agreed upon between him and a lady to whom he was a suitor, to shew he could think upon her charms even whilst engaged in the most solemn duties of his profession. Hence he was called Bishop Bandstrings." Fountainhall's Notes, note by Editor, p. 5.

† Warrants of Privy Council.

and in fact, having fallen under a complication of maladies, "such as the gravel, gout, scurvy, sciatick, and many others, incident to old age," for he had now become grey-headed in suffering, as the time approached when he had to appear before the Council, or re-enter his confinement in his chamber at Edinburgh, he presented a petition to the Council, shewing the state of his health, and praying that, as it was impossible for him without imminent danger of his life to appear at the said diet, his liberty might be continued for some time longer. In compliance with this petition, the Council, on the 12th of October 1686, "continued the liberty formerly granted him until the first Thursday of March next, on the terms and under the penalty contained in his former bond for appearance."*

But before this term expired, King James's first indulgence, dated 12th February 1687, was published, by which, in the exercise of "his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and *absolute power which all his subjects are to obey without reserve*," he "allowed and tolerated the *moderate* Presbyterians to meet in their private houses,—but not in meeting-houses or barns, or in the fields,—and there to hear all such ministers as either have or are willing to accept of our indulgence *alienarly*, and none other;"† and, which was his principal object, abrogated and annulled all the laws and acts of Parliament against Papists, allowed them freely to exercise their worship, and declared them eligible to all places of public trust. It also exacted an oath, the substance of which was an engagement to maintain the absolute power of the Crown. This indulgence afforded relief to M'Gilligen, although he did not accept of it,

* Warrants of Privy Council.

† Wodrow's History, vol. iv. p. 418.

and indeed it was accepted by none of the Presbyterian ministers. By a letter from the King to the Council, March 31, or the second toleration, the oath was to be dispensed with; and in July a third and more ample toleration was issued, in which his Majesty "by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and *absolute power*, suspends all penal and sanguinary laws made against any for nonconformity to the religion established by law," and grants liberty to all his subjects "to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses, chapels, or places purposely hired or built for that use;"* but strictly prohibits field meetings, and leaves all the laws and acts of Parliament against them in full force. The benefit of this indulgence was accepted by the most of the Presbyterian ministers;† and after it was granted, a meeting-house was built on M'Gilligen's own ground at Alness, where he preached without farther hindrance to his old hearers, who flocked to him from all the surrounding districts, to hear the message of the gospel from the mouth of their venerated pastor. As he was much reduced in his worldly circumstances by long imprisonment, fines, and the confiscation of his property, his hearers did all in their power to render his worldly circumstances easy by affording him a competent main-

* Wodrow's History, vol. iv. p. 426.

† Those who declined it were chiefly Mr James Renwick and his followers, who, having renounced their allegiance to the tyrant, refused to take advantage of what flowed from his Erastian power, regarding it, what no doubt it was, as a piece of policy for enabling him more effectually to introduce slavery and Popery; and they continued, in defiance of the threatened vengeance of the government against field conventicles embodied in it, to meet in the fields for the worship of God as before. It is allowed even by Dr Cook, in his History of the Church of Scotland, that in this matter the Cameronians acted the most consistent part. See on this subject, M'Orrie's Sketches of Scottish Church History, 2d ed. pp. 553, 554.

tenance. Shortly after he was invited to become minister of Elgin; an invitation which he declined to accept. At the Revolution, he received a call to Inverness, with which he complied, being induced in a good measure from the desire of having the benefit of the advice of the medical men in that place. He, however, officiated there only during a short period, for the gravel, with which he had been long afflicted, increased to such a degree as to confine him to his bed, and at last it proved the cause of his death. During his last illness he spoke little, but possessed a calm and unclouded hope of future blessedness. He died on the 8th of June 1689, and was buried at Inverness, the war which then existed in the country rendering it impossible for his mortal remains to be carried to Alness.

"Thus," says Wodrow, "he got cleanly off the stage. He was the only minister in the province of Ross, who at the first assault opposed himself to Prelacy. Mr Hog of Kiltarn was of the same sentiments with him, but had been laid aside some time before; Mr Thomas Ross, minister at Kincardine, having continued at his charge some time after the establishment of Prelacy, owed his leaving it to a meeting with Mr M'Gilligen; and Mr Hugh Anderson kept his kirk at Cromarty for some years before he broke off. In short, it was in Mr M'Gilligen's house, at his last releasement, that that worthy man Mr Angus M'Bean, formerly Episcopal minister at Inverness, did preach his recantation sermon to a numerous and splendid auditory, from Job xxxiv. 31, 32, 'Surely it is meet to be said unto God, I have borne chastisement, I will not offend any more. That which I see not, teach thou me; if I have done iniquity I will do so no more.'""*

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii. p. 437.

PATRICK ANDERSON.

PATRICK ANDERSON was ordained minister of Walston, a parish in Lanarkshire, subsequently to the year 1649. He thus came within the reach of the act of Parliament passed in 1662, which made it imperative on all ministers admitted since the year 1649, in order to their continuing in their charges, to receive presentations from their respective patrons, and also collation from the bishops of their respective dioceses. Refusing, like many others, to comply with the requirements of this act, he was compelled to quit the scene of his labours in the midst of his usefulness. On leaving Walston, he came to reside in Edinburgh, where he lived for many years. Here the same sense of duty which made him submit to ejection rather than conform to Prelacy, led him to preach in the city and other places, in private houses and in the fields, severe though the laws were against such meetings;* nor could he be deterred for corresponding with intercommuned ministers whom he esteemed and loved, though at the risk of be-

* Reid, in his *Memoirs* (p. 26), names Mr Patrick Anderson as one of those ministers, who, after the battle of Pentland Hills, preached in the fields by night and by day, and who continued to do so even when this was declared by the government to be a capital crime.

ing reputed equally guilty with them and punished accordingly.

Anderson was one of those ministers to whom the benefit of the second indulgence, dated 3d September 1672, was extended. The character of this indulgence has been previously described.* It originated in a suggestion of Bishop Burnet to the Duke of Lauderdale, to the effect, that all the outed ministers should be put by couples into parishes, so that instead of wandering about the country to hold conventicles in all places, they might be fixed to a certain locality, and that each might have the half of a benefice ;—a plan cordially approved of by Archbishop Leighton, who compared it to the gathering the coals that were scattered over the house, setting all on fire, into the chimney, where they might burn away with safety.† By this indulgence Anderson and Mr William Tullidaff‡ were permitted to preach and exercise the other parts of their ministerial function in Kilbirny, a parish in the district of Cunningham, Ayrshire, and ordered to repair to and remain confined within that parish.§

Most of the ministers who accepted this indulgence, had no small scruples of conscience in doing so. Others to whom it was extended, judged it liable to such insuperable objections from the Erastianism of its origin, and its whole provisions, as well as from the slavery to which it reduced them, that they felt it to be their

* See Notice of John Greig, pp. 81-84.

† Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 381.

‡ Mr William Tullidaff was minister of Dunboig previous to the Restoration. He was ejected for nonconformity by the act of Council at Glasgow 1662. Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 329. He survived the persecution, and, after the Revolution, became Principal of St Leonard's College, St Andrews. Murray's Life of Samuel Rutherford, pp. 169, 171.

§ Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 203, 204.

duty to decline having any concern with it. But the Council, aware that its rejection would defeat the main object proposed by granting it, were determined to force a compliance. The Duke of Hamilton, who had been in the west country, coming to Edinburgh in the winter following, and taking his seat at the council-board, told the members, who were anxious to learn the success of the indulgence in putting a stop to conventicles, that he was convinced that such would have been its effect had it been accepted by the whole body of the Presbyterians, but that as a considerable number refused to have any thing to do with it, and persuaded their brethren to follow their example, he believed that "the schism," as he called it, would still continue in the Church; in other words, that multitudes would still rally round the banner of Presbytery, and lift up a bold protest against Prelacy. Upon this the Council resolved, without delay, to compel those Presbyterian ministers who had not taken the benefit of the indulgence granted them, at least to enter their parishes and remain confined within them. With this view, those ministers were summoned to appear before them on the 12th of March 1673. Anderson was among the number, and he, with the greater number of them, appeared, and were examined as to their reasons for not repairing to their several parishes. Each assigned his own particular reasons; upon hearing which, the Council, owing to the badness of the weather and the state of the roads, gave them between that and the 1st of June to repair to their respective parishes, and if they did not choose to exercise their ministry in them, to remain confined there for life; and warned them, if they did not do so by that time, that they would be liable to be apprehended as despisers of his

Majesty's authority. At the same diet it was agreed that orders should be given to the king's forces, sheriffs, and all magistrates, to seize them wherever they could be found if they did not obey this appointment.* Anderson, when commanded to repair to his parish betwixt that and the 1st of June under the above penalty, thanked the Council for their favour in granting him so long time to deliberate, and promised to take the matter into solemn and serious consideration ; upon which he was dismissed. The rest who appeared were similarly threatened, and several of them gave the same answer.†

Anderson's place of confinement, it would appear, was afterwards changed to Longdrehorn. Whether or not he ultimately accepted the indulgence is somewhat uncertain. If he did so, he broke through his confinement and extended his ministrations to other places ; by which he stirred up the opposition of the curates, who having little reputation among the people, and envying the popular favour which the outed Presbyterian ministers so highly enjoyed, did all in their power to harass them and interdict their ministry. In "the Grievances given in by the several Presbyteries of the Diocese of Glasgow to the Synod, October 22. 1674," and which they intended should be laid before the government, it is complained "that in the Presbytery of Lanark conventicles are kept by Mr Patrick Anderson at Boghall, though confined to Longdrehorn."‡

On Sabbath the 5th of November 1676, Anderson kept a private conventicle within the town of Edin-

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 212.

† Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 337.

‡ Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 264.

burgh, in the house of Mrs Guthrie, widow of Mr John Guthrie, minister at Tarbolton.* On receiving information of this meeting, the magistrates dispersed it, and apprehended some present at it, whom they committed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh. Anderson escaped, but some of his papers fell into their hands. From these papers, however, which were probably only the notes of his sermons, it appears that nothing could be extracted that could be converted into a charge against him. For this conventicle, the magistrates of Edinburgh were liable to be fined, it being one of the tyrannical measures for putting down these meetings then adopted, according to the fifth act of the second session of his Majesty's second parliament 1670, to make the magistrates of royal burghs "liable for every conventicle to be kept within their burghs, to such fines as his Majesty's Council shall think fit to impose."† But the magistrates of the city having presented a petition to the

* Numerous house conventicles were held in Edinburgh. "There had been preachings by several ministers in Edinburgh ever since the death of Mr [James] Guthrie, especially in his widow's house, who from that time kept the most public meetings." Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy. And when Blackadder took up his residence in Edinburgh, which was in 1666, he informs us, that in the summer of that year, having taken larger lodgings, he kept in them great meetings on the Sabbath days, and that ordinarily every night at family worship, many were present. "But," adds he, "preaching was neither so frequent nor so public in Edinburgh, till after the six ministers [Mr John Wilkie, Mr Samuel Arnot, and four others], banished out of Galloway and Nithsdale came there. It was expected that after the disaster at Pentland, these meetings, called conventicles, should have been suppressed, but in the providence of God it came to pass, that, beyond all expectation, they were never so numerous and public as they were after that, particularly and first at Edinburgh, wherein in many houses at once there would have been several rooms full at a time, the prelates still causing watch over them, and sometimes apprehend, imprison, and fine those they found to have been at them; yet they continued still, increased, and propagated also through the country from that year even to the year 1679, that they were so universally crushed and suppressed." Ibid.

† Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 169.

Council, praying that the city might be exempted from any fine on account of the above conventicle, in respect of their diligence in dissipating it, and that whatever fines should in future be imposed upon the city for conventicles, might, in those cases in which they should discover them, be given them to be applied for the use of the poor of the burgh, the Council found that the magistrates had done their duty in dissipating the foresaid conventicle, and declared the city free of any fine for it in regard of their diligence and discovery ; and as to the other part of the prayer, declared that when any conventicles should hereafter occur in the city, the desire of the magistrates, upon their making application, would be taken into consideration.

On the 16th of November, five ladies were libelled before the Council, at the instance of his Majesty's Advocate, for being present at the above conventicle, namely, Margaret Haldane, relict of the deceased Mr John Guthrie, indweller in Edinburgh, Elizabeth Muir, relict of Mr Alexander Dunlop, Mary Hepburn, Lady Saltcoats, and Mary Livingtoun* her daughter ; " and the said defenders being called and interrogated upon the libel, and the said Mary Livingtoun having acknowledged that she was at the conventicle libelled, and the rest being required to give their oaths thereupon, they refused to give oath ; in respect whereof, the Lords of Privy Council hold them as confessed, and fine the said Mary Hepburn in the sum of £200, the said Mary

* In the Register of Acts of Privy Council, the name is erroneously spelled " Liddingtoun." In the titles of the estate of the family, it is as given in the text. The family of Livingtoun of Saltcoats, which is of considerable antiquity, zealously adhered to the Presbyterians during the persecution. It became extinct about the middle of the last century. In the New Statistical Account of Scotland, the name is also by mistake spelled " Livingstone." No. viii. Haddingtonshire, p. 44.

Livingtoun in one hundred merks, to be paid to his Majesty's cash-keeper, and ordain letters to be directed against them for that effect ; and ordain Margaret Haldane and Elizabeth Muir to continue in prison until they find caution, each of them under the pain of 1000 merks, to remove themselves out of the town of Edinburgh betwixt and the 1st of January next, and that they shall not come within six miles of the said burgh under the pain foresaid, without licence from the Council." Such is the treatment which a few pious and inoffensive females met with for presuming to worship God in the way they most approved of. Nor is this a solitary case in the history of the prelatic persecution. Numerous instances of a similar, and even a more cruel kind, occur. So lost to every honourable feeling had that ignoble and dastardly government become, that in their mad project of putting down Presbytery and establishing Prelacy, they scrupled not to attempt to coerce the consciences of many devout and excellent females, among whom were ladies of rank ; so that women found virtue, innocence, accomplishment, and station, no safeguard against persecution, provided they declined in matters of religion to square their conduct according to the dictates of a monarch who was distinguished for little else than want of principle and profligacy of manners. Simply for nonconformity, some of them were immersed in heavy fines, some immured in prisons, some banished out of the country, and some even put to barbarous deaths.

As Anderson after this persevered in the same course of life, he continued to excite the jealousy and displeasure of the government. In April 1678, he was summoned to appear before the Council to answer for " several irregularities tending to the breach of his

Majesty's peace," as being present and preaching at house and field conventicles, harbouring, resetting, and corresponding with intercommuned persons. On making his appearance in obedience to the summons, his libel was read. After referring to the fifth act of the second session of his Majesty's second Parliament, prohibiting and discharging the keeping of or being present at house or field conventicles, and to "diverse acts of Parliament against the withdrawing from public ordinances authorised according to law in parish churches;" and to "acts of Parliament against the harbouring, resetting, supplying, entertaining, corresponding, or intercommuning with persons who are declared rebels and traitors, or others against whom letters of intercommuning are directed;" it proceeds as follows:—

"Nevertheless it is of verity that Mr Patrick Anderson, now indweller in Edinburgh, sometime minister at* having refused to join in the exercise of the ministry with the regular and orthodox clergy according to the government of the Church as it is now established by law, did repair to Edinburgh there to shelter himself, where he hath lived for diverse years, and practised several irregularities tending to the breach of his Majesty's peace; and particularly upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of March, April, May, and remanent months of the year 1674; upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of January, February, March, and remanent months of the year 1675; upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of January, February, March, and remanent months of the year 1676; upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of January, February, March, and remanent months of the year 1677; and upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of January, February, and March last bypast, the said Mr Patrick Anderson hath kept, and been

* Blank in MS.

present at diverse house conventicles kept in his own house at the Potterrow Port in the cordiners' land there, and in the house of,* and in diverse other houses in and about Edinburgh and other places, where he hath preached himself, expounded scripture, prayed, and exercised the other functions of the ministry, and hath also been present at diverse field conventicles kept at Tinto Muir, and,† or diverse other places about or near thereto, where he himself hath prayed, preached, and exercised the other functions of the ministry; at least hath heard diverse others, declared traitors and rebels, intercommuned ministers, outed or vagrant preachers, preach, expound scripture, pray, and exercise the other functions of the ministry at the said places, or one or other of them, and particularly Mr John Welsh, Mr Samuel Arnot, Mr Gabriel Semple, Mr David Williamson, or one or other of them; at least hath convocated people to the said meetings, or at least hath been present at the said house conventicles when there were more persons thereat than the house contained: Likeas the said Mr Patrick Anderson hath, during the whole time foresaid, been a constant withdrawer from his own parish church, and hath harboured, reset, and supplied, entertained, corresponded, or intercommuned with the said Mr John Welsh, Mr Samuel Arnot, Mr Gabriel Semple, Mr David Williamson, Mr George Johnston, and diverse others, declared rebels and traitors, and against whom letters of intercommuning are directed, and did so far encourage them as that his house hath been a common receptacle of such persons; at the least‡ he has been active in procuring the said persons to be sheltered and harboured by others, and hath by himself, or others at his command, compliance, or direction, caused them to be furnished with horses and other necessaries, and provisions, in order to their going to keep house or field conventicles at

* Blank in MS.

† Ibid.

‡ The reader will perceive that in this document several suppositions as to the contravention of the laws against nonconformity are introduced, each of them with the words *at least*. This is one specimen of the vexatious proceedings of these times.

the places foresaid, and hath been a constant encourager of such persons as went to these irregular and disorderly meetings, whereby the said Mr Patrick Anderson hath directly contravened the tenor of the foresaid acts of Parliament, and is guilty of the illegal and disorderly practices foresaid, for which he ought to be exemplarily punished in his person and goods, to the terror of others to commit and do the like in time coming."

Being examined upon this libel, Anderson acknowledged that he had kept conventicles, and had corresponded with intercommuned ministers. On hearing this confession, the Council ordain him "to be carried prisoner to the Isle of the Bass, upon Wednesday the 10th of this instant, by two rates of musketeers of the garrison in the Castle of Edinburgh, to remain prisoner there, unless betwixt and the said day he find caution, under the pain of two thousand merks, that he shall remove himself out of the town of Edinburgh, and reside at some place at least four or five miles distant therefrom; and that he shall not converse or correspond with any persons except those of his own family; and if the defender fail to find the said caution, grant warrant to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to deliver his person, upon the 10th of this instant, to such musketeers as shall be ordered by the laird of Lundie, lieutenant of the Castle of Edinburgh, to receive him to the effect foresaid."*

Failing, it would appear, to give caution that he would remove himself out of Edinburgh, and reside in some place at least four or five miles distant from it, and that he would not converse or correspond with any persons except those of his own family, probably preferring imprisonment to coming under such an engage-

* Decrees of Privy Council.

ment, Anderson was conveyed to the Bass. There he remained a prisoner till the middle of July, when he was released through a letter from his Majesty to the Council, requiring that such as were confined simply for nonconformity, and who had not been concerned in the insurrection at Bothwell Bridge, should be set at liberty, upon their finding security under a certain sum to appear before the Council when called.*

Of Anderson's future history little is known. He survived the Revolution, and upon the ejection of the Episcopal incumbent, Mr John Kinked, again became minister of his old parish, Walston, to whose spiritual interests he consecrated the remainder of his days. He was the father of the celebrated antiquary Mr James Anderson, general postmaster for Scotland, author of "Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland," in four volumes 4to, and other works.†

* See Notice of William Bell, pp. 116-118.

† Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary; Wodrow's Correspondence, vol. II. p. 287.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

THERE were several nonconforming ministers of this name during the persecution. One of them so named was, previous to the restoration of Charles II., minister of Sorn, a parish in the upper part of Ayrshire, district of Kyle. He was ejected from his charge for nonconformity in 1662.* He afterwards became indulged minister of Sorn ; but scrupling to observe the restrictions imposed upon him by the indulgence, and to yield implicit obedience to all the requirements of the court, he was put to some trouble. Having declined to keep the day of thanksgiving appointed by the government to be observed on the 9th of September 1683, for the discovery of the Rye-house plot, and to read from the pulpit on that day, and on the Sabbath preceding, his Majesty's proclamation enjoining its observance,† and having since his Majesty's act of indemnity preached on being invited in diverse houses in other parishes than that within which he was confined, he was served with a libel charging him with these offences, and summoning him to appear before the Council on the 3d of January 1684. He appeared in obedience to the summons, and his Majesty's Advocate having, in-

* Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 327.

† See pp. 90-92.

stead of all further probation, referred the verity of the libel to his oath, he confessed upon his solemn oath the truth of the charges. Upon this, the Council "declare the indulgence granted him to preach in the above parish to be void and at an end, and ordain him either to find caution to remove off the kingdom betwixt and the first of March next, and not to return thereto without licence under the penalty of five thousand merks, otherwise to find caution hereafter not to preach or exercise any part of the ministerial function within this kingdom, and to frequent the ordinances in the parish kirk where he shall happen to reside, and compear personally before the Council to answer to any thing may be laid to his charge under the said penalty, and appoint him to go to prison except he find the said caution." But Campbell, less stedfast to his principles than many of his brethren, in order to regain his liberty, engaged to a Committee of Council, "that hereafter he should not keep house or field conventicles, baptize nor marry, and that he should frequent the ordinances in the place where he should happen to reside, and compear before the Council when called for to answer to any thing can be laid to his charge, and that under the penalty of five thousand merks Scots money in case of failure." On these conditions, the Council, on the 24th of January, give order and warrant to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to set him at liberty.*

* There is a Mr John Campbell whom Carstairs mentions in a letter to Mr Robert M'Ward, dated July 23. 1675: "There was a communion," says he, "at Kilbarchan, [a parish in Renfrewshire], last Lord's day, when several outed ministers preached, and Mr Hugh Peebles amongst the rest, who was taken in the minister's house Sabbath night, having preached in the church-yard, and is now prisoner in the tolbooth of Glasgow; and two others, one Mr John Campbell and Mr John Blair, were taken at a communion somewhere in the Presbytery of Ayr." There is also a minister of this name whom Wodrow mentions as having, in May 1678, kept a con-

There is another John Campbell, who was settled in Torthorwald, a parish near the foot of Nithsdale, Dumfries-shire, and who was ejected from his charge by the act of Council at Glasgow, 1662.* After his ejection he kept meetings for public worship in his own house in Nithsdale.†

John Campbell, the subject of our notice, was probably a different person from either of these, as he is called by Mr John Carstairs, "a minister in Ireland." On the 12th and 19th of May 1678, he kept "house conventicles within the city of Edinburgh, in the houses of James Campbell, vintner, and Thomas Waddell, during the hours of divine service." The last of these meetings was fallen upon, and Campbell, with some of those present at it, were apprehended and imprisoned in the tolbooth.‡ They were summoned to appear before the Council on the last day of May, and on appearing they confessed the truth of the libel. Upon this, his Grace the Lord Commissioner, and the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, "ordain Mr John Campbell to be transported prisoner from the tolbooth of Edinburgh to the Isle of the Bass, by such a party of

venticle which made considerable noise. "Upon the 14th of May," says he, "the Council being informed of a conventicle kept in the parish of Cathcart, in the shire of Renfrew, at the house of William Wood, they order the prisoners to be brought in to Edinburgh. Mr John Campbell, Mr Mathew Crawford, and some others, preached there; the ministers escaped, but the meeting was dispersed, and the dragoons pursued the common people, took a great number of plaids, bibles, and other things from the women whom they overtook, and upwards of sixty men prisoners." Wodrow's History, vol. iii. p. 475. Whether these refer to the same person, and if they do, whether John Campbell of Sorn is the person spoken of is uncertain. Wodrow MSS., vol. lix., folio, no. 35.

* Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 226.

† Crichton's Memoirs of Mr John Blackadder, p. 97.

‡ Register of Acts of Privy Council; and letter of Mr John Carstairs to Mr Robert M'Ward, Wodrow MSS. vol. lix. folio, no. 82.

his Majesty's forces as the Major-General shall think fit, and to continue prisoner there until farther order : And in regard the said Patrick Tullas was not only present at the said conventicle, but did invite the said Mr John Campbell to preach at the same, they fine him in the sum of four hundred merks Scots, and fine Patrick Telfer, tailor, in the sum of 25 lbs. Scots, William Knox, tailor, in the sum of 25 lbs., and George Nicoll, journeyman, in 12 lbs. Scots, conform to the act of Parliament, for their being present at the said conventicle. And in regard Mr Robert Meikle, [called in the decreet, chaplain to Sir James Stewart and his lady,] Steven Porteous, Patrick Sommervail, and William Hackston, who were at the said conventicle, being required, did refuse to depone as to other persons present at the same ; therefore the said Lords, conform to the act of Parliament, do banish them to the plantations, and ordain them to be kept prisoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh until an opportunity offer for their transportation : And find that the said Thomas Waddell, and John Fulton his cautioner, have contravened the foresaid bond of cautionry, and incurred the penalty of one thousand merks therein contained ;* and ordain letters of horning to be directed for payment thereof ; and ordain the said

* In the indictment which precedes this act, it is said that " Thomas Waddell in Edinburgh, and Margaret Lamb his spouse, were by sentence of Council in 1674 banished forth of the city of Edinburgh, Leith, and Canongate, for their accession to the breaking up of Magdalene Chapel in Edinburgh, and being present at conventicles there and in several other places ; and thereafter, for contravening the said sentence, were imprisoned within the tolbooth of the said burgh ;" and farther, that upon " his humble submission and acknowledgment of his offence, and craving pardon," he was liberated upon his giving bond, and finding John Fulton, mason, burgess, Edinburgh, cautioner for him, that he and his wife " should keep, observe, and obey the several laws and acts of Parliament made anent State and Church government, and do nothing contrary thereto, under the pain of 1000 merks Scots." The bond, was dated 14th September 1675.

Patrick Tullas, Patrick Telfer, William Knox, and George Nicoll, to continue in prison until they pay their fines to his Majesty's cash-keeper, and upon payment thereof ordain them to be set at liberty."

Besides these persons who were thus punished for attending the above conventicles, a decret was raised against the lady of Sir James Stewart of Kirkfield and Coltness, "for being present at one or other of them." As she did not compear, the Council, at their meeting of the 6th of June 1678, "grant certification against the said Dame Margery M'Culloch,* defender, for denouncing her rebel, &c. in respect of hernon-appearance, superseding extract thereof until this day eight days." How long Campbell was confined in the Bass, and what was his future history, is unknown.

* This was the maiden name of Lady Stewart. In the "Coltness Collections" she is called "Marion M'Culloch," p. 27. She was the daughter of Mr David M'Culloch, writer to the signet, and was a woman of eminent virtue and piety. She died about 1690. Ibid. p. 28.

JOHN LAW.

JOHN LAW was born about the close of the year 1632. He was educated at the University of Glasgow, and after passing through the regular literary and philosophical classes, took his degree of master of arts. His public appearances, on his being licensed to preach the gospel, were highly creditable ; and so favourable an opinion did the well-known Mr James Durham, minister of the inner High Church of Glasgow, form of his piety and talents, that when Mr Andrew Gray, minister of the outer High Church of that city, died in February 1656, he was very desirous that Law, who had not then been settled in any fixed charge, should become his successor ; but Mr Patrick Gillespie succeeded in carrying the appointment of Mr Robert M'Ward.* After this, in that same year, Law was ordained minister at Campsie, in the room of Mr Archibald Denniston, who was deposed by the Protesters. At that time the controversy between the Resolutioners and Protesters was carried on with great violence. The Protesters, having on various grounds disowned the lawfulness of the General Assembly held at St Andrews and Dundee in 1651, as well as the subsequent As-

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 314.

semblies, claimed for themselves the power of the Commission of 1650, and as such, formed themselves into a Committee for purging the Church of unqualified and scandalous ministers, and planting vacant charges with young men of their own views, whom they considered duly qualified, while, at the same time, those Synods and Presbyteries, in which the Protesters had the majority, proceeded in the same work with great zeal.* Among others, Mr Archibald Denniston, minister of Campsie, which belonged to the Synod of Glasgow, where the Protesters had the great majority, was deposed ; and Law, who had adopted the sentiments of that party, was settled by them in his room.†

Being conscientiously and decidedly attached to Presbytery, Law refused to conform to Prelacy on the establishment of that form of church government after the restoration of Charles II. ; and on this account was driven from his charge by the act of Council at Glasgow 1662.‡ Whether on this he desisted for some time from the public exercise of his ministry, as was the case with respect to some of the ejected nonconforming ministers, is uncertain.§ But if he did so, he at length felt

* In doing this, they were no doubt encouraged from knowing that they were more in favour with Cromwell's government than the Resolutioners. Baillie complains that they had "the ear of the English," and of their "greatness with the civil power." *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 315.

† Baillie gives the following account of this settlement. "In Campsie likewise, in [place of] Mr Archibald Denniston, deposed by them without any considerable cause, much to my grief and against the heart of his parish who loved him, they have planted Mr John Law, within these three years brought from a pottinger to be laureat." *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 314. Baillie was a keen Resolutioner; and this will account for the rather disrespectful manner in which he here speaks of Law. So strong, indeed, were his prejudices against the Protesters, that he can scarcely speak in decent terms of any of them when they come in his way.

‡ Wodrow's *History*, vol. i. p. 328.

§ Not a few of the Presbyterian ministers after their ejection attended on Sabbath the churches of those nonconforming ministers, who, having been

so strongly that his ejection from his parish could not warrant him to lay down the commission he had received from the Head of the Church to preach the gospel, that he exercised his ministry wherever he found opportunity. In the year 1670 and subsequently, he and several other Presbyterian ministers were much employed in preaching about Kippen, Gargunnock, and Monteith, although thereby they were exposed to constant troubles and sufferings.*

When a second indulgence was granted on the 3d of September 1672, Law and Mr George Hutchison† were allowed to exercise their ministry within the parish of Irvine.‡ Law did not for some time at least repair to Irvine in obedience to the act of indulgence. For this offence he and the rest of the indulged ministers, who had not gone to their respective parishes, were summoned to appear before the Council on the 12th of March 1673. He and several others not obeying the summons, were appointed to appear at some future meeting of Council.§ He, however, seems at length to have repaired to Irvine, and entered upon the discharge

settled previous to 1649, did not come under the operation of the Glasgow act, and even some of them went to hear the curates, not preaching publicly for some time, although they admitted many of their neighbours into their houses during the time of family worship.

* M'Crie's *Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson*, p. 437.

† Mr George Hutchison was first minister at Colmonel in Ayrshire, and was afterwards translated to Edinburgh, but was ejected from his charge after the Restoration for nonconformity. By the first indulgence granted in 1669, he became indulged minister at Irvine, and by this second had Law associated with him in that place. He died of apoplexy at Irvine in 1674, aged about fifty-nine. Hutchison was a man of distinguished talents, and particularly excelled as an expositor of scripture. His commentaries on the minor prophets, the Book of Job, and the Gospel of John, "exhibit a richness of thought and judiciousness of illustration seldom surpassed." Wodrow's *History*, vol. ii. p. 278.

‡ Wodrow's *History*, vol. ii. p. 204. See pp. 81-83.

§ Wodrow's *History*, vol. ii. p. 212.

of his ministerial duties in that parish.* But like many of his indulged brethren, he broke through his confinement, and exercised his ministry in other places. For this violation of the rules annexed to the indulgence, the Council passed an act, warranting the Lord Chancellor to send out parties of his Majesty's guards to apprehend him and several other ministers, who had pre-eminently distinguished themselves as keepers of conventicles. The act is as follows:—

“ *Edinburgh, 4th June 1674.*

“ The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council do hereby authorise and empower the Lord Chancellor to give orders to parties of that troop of horse of his Majesty's guard under his command, to pass upon Sunday next to such places as he shall think fit to direct them, or to any other places near the same, whereby they shall hear that field conventicles are to be kept that day, and to apprehend and secure the persons who shall preach or pray at these field conventicles, as also to apprehend the persons of Mr John Welsh, Mr Gabriel Semple, Mr Robert Ross, Mr Samuel Arnot, Mr Gabriel Cunningham, Mr Archibald Riddell, Mr John Mossman, Mr John Blackadder, Mr William Wishart, Mr David Home, Mr John Dickson, Mr John Rae, Mr Henry Forsyth, Mr Thomas Hog, Mr Robert Law, Mr George Johnston, Mr Thomas Forrester, Mr James Fraser of Brea, Mr John Law, Mr Robert Gillespie, hereby giving assurance to any of the guards, or any other person whatsoever, who shall apprehend the said Mr John Welsh and Mr Gabriel Semple, that they shall have for each of them one hundred pounds sterling, and for each one of the rest of the said persons one thousand merks; and it is hereby declared, that those who shall secure the said persons and their assist-

* This seems implied in the account given of his apprehension and imprisonment at a subsequent period, by Law in his Memorial (p. 146). “ March 1676, Mr John Law, minister at Campsie, was taken for preaching in the fields, though a *national* preacher, and committed prisoner at Glasgow, and then carried to Edinburgh, and from that to the Bass.”

ants, are hereby indemnified of any slaughter that shall happen to be committed in the apprehending and securing of them, conform to the fifth act of the second session of his Majesty's second parliament, entitled, Act against Conventicles ; and require the parties to bring in the said persons who shall be seized by them, and to deliver them to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, who are hereby required to receive and detain them prisoners until further order. The like order granted to the Earl of Athole and Earl of Linlithgow."*

Law soon after this was apprehended and imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, but was not long confined. Being brought before the Council on the 28th of July 1674, he was discharged to keep conventicles, under certification that if he did so, he would be reputed, punished, and pursued as a seditious person ; and was set at liberty on giving bond and security for his appearing when called, under the penalty of five thousand merks.† No sooner was he liberated than he began to preach as he had hitherto done. He was thus particularly obnoxious to the curates, and they were not slow in their endeavours to put an effectual interdict upon his ministry, which proved to them so offensive and troublesome. In the " Grievances given in by several Presbyteries of the Diocese of Glasgow to the Synod, October 22. 1674," it is complained that " in the Presbytery of Dumbarton, conventicles are kept by Mr John Law," and that he baptized children and married persons from the Presbytery of Dumbarton.‡ The continued zeal with which he preached at house and field conventicles, baptized and married, preached in divers parish pulpits at the desire of heritors and parishioners, as well as licensed and ordained

* Register of Acts of Privy Council. See also Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 234.

† Wodrow History, vol. ii. p. 270.

‡ Ibid. p. 264.

young men to the ministry, if the account given by the Privy Council be correct, led that body to adopt new measures against him. He was charged, by letters raised at the instance of his Majesty's Advocate, to appear before the Council on the 7th of December 1676, to answer for these violations of the law. His libel bears that, "contrary to the several laws and acts of Parliament of this kingdom, upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of May, June, and remanent months of the year 1674; upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of January, February, March, and remanent days of the year 1675; upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, and October last, or upon one or other of the days of the months of the said years, he hath taken upon him to preach, expound scripture, pray, and exercise the other functions of the ministry, at diverse houses and field conventicles, and has convocated diverse numbers of people thereto; and particularly at Campsie, Baldernock, Kilpatrick, Kippen, and diverse other places, or near to the same, where he hath baptized and married diverse persons in a disorderly manner, and particularly, and hath invaded diverse churches and pulpits, into which he hath intruded himself, and particularly, &c. Likeas, the said Mr John Law hath presumed to appoint and ordain several persons to the office and work of the ministry, and given them mission to that effect, and particularly, &c. albeit he hath not authority approven by the laws of the kingdom for that effect." Law being often called, and not compearing, the Council "ordain letters to be directed to messengers-at-arms, to denounce him his Majesty's rebel, and to put him to the horn, and to escheat and

inbring all his moveable goods and gear to his Majesty's use, for his contempt."

Such was the attachment of Law's old parishioners in Campsie to him, and their desire to enjoy his ministry, that they built a dwelling-house and a place of public worship for him in the parish. But the meeting-house was not allowed long to stand. The committee of their number which the Council, in January 1678, appointed to go to the west were anxious to have it demolished; and, in a letter to the Duke of Lauderdale, to be communicated to the Council, they ask instructions as to how they were to act in reference to it. "And whereas," say they, "it is known that in the parish of Campsie, in Stirlingshire, there has been a dwelling and meeting house built for one Law, who has kept conventicles these several years past, and that in the parishes of Strathblane, Killearn, Balfron, Fintry, Kippen, and Gargunnock in that shire, there have been many disorders committed, we humbly offer to the Council's consideration, whether or not it will be fit for his Majesty's service that an order be given us to proceed against the heritors and others in these parishes, conform to our instructions for the shires of Renfrew and Lanark,* and according to the Council's orders we shall be ready to proceed." Their wishes expressed in this communication were immediately gratified. The Council, in a letter, dated Edinburgh, 26th March 1678, authorised them to do as they suggested; and "expect that they will cause demolish the meeting house in that shire erected for Mr Law, as they did with those in the shire of Ayr."†

* See these Instructions in Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 384, 385, 405.

† On their coming to the shire of Ayr, the Committee of Council were, by their instructions, required vigorously to prosecute all such, whether

In February 1679, his Majesty's standing forces, both horse and foot, were distributed over the west and south, for the purpose of executing the laws against house and field conventicles. Strict search was thus made for intercommuned ministers, field preachers, and others, whose nonconformity rendered them obnoxious to the government, and many disorders and cruelties were committed by the military, in their attempts to discover the objects of their pursuit. In one of these searches, Law was found in the house of the laird of Kincaid, whither he had come on his way to see his wife, who was lying so dangerously ill that her medical attendants had pronounced her recovery hopeless. He was immediately arrested ; and such was the barbarity of his persecutors, that outraging the sanctity of the domestic affections, they would not allow him to visit her upon any consideration.* He offered all the bonds and security they could desire ; he engaged to deliver himself up as their prisoner whenever they should appoint,

heritors or others, as had been present at field conventicles, and had convoked the people to them ; and all such as had preached at them, or had invaded pulpits ; and all who had been accessory to the building of preaching houses, and all heritors, liferenters, and landlords, who had connived at the building of them ; and to cause burn these meeting-houses and raze them to the ground. Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 385.

* Our authority here is Wodrow ; see his History, vol. iii. p. 17. Mr John Carstairs, in a letter to Mr Robert M'Ward, dated March 20. 1679, gives a somewhat different account. " Sweet, serious, and successful Mr John Law," says he, " was last week apprehended at his own house in Campsie, and I was hearing yesterday (whereof I am not absolutely certain) that his worthy wife died within three or four hours after he was taken from her, having been long sick before, but a little better then. He is as yet prisoner at Glasgow, where two other ministers are prisoners also, who were taken in a search there, Wednesday last." Wodrow MSS. vol. lix. folio, no. lll. Law's wife, it would appear, recovered from her severe illness, and lived till near the close of the year 1703. See inscription on the monument erected over Law's grave, p. 287. It is, however, possible that Isabel Cuninghame, to whose memory also the monument was raised, may have been his second wife.

and if that did not satisfy them, he earnestly requested a guard might be sent with him to the house where she lay ; but all in vain. He was sent direct to Edinburgh by a guard of soldiers, without having seen his wife to all appearance on her deathbed ; and on the road so little were his feelings regarded, that at the stages where they rested, he was not allowed the privilege of privacy in which to commend himself and his dying wife to God, soldiers being constantly in the room where he was put. On his being brought to Edinburgh, which was in the beginning of April, the Council sentenced him and two preachers, Mr Robert Ross and Mr James Macaulay, to be imprisoned in the Bass.* In May, the Committee of Council for Public Affairs recommend, " that, upon the testimony of the Archbishop of Glasgow, Mr John Law should be dismissed upon caution to appear when called, upon bond for a thousand merks."† Whether the Archbishop refused to give a testimonial in his favour, which is not improbable, we are not informed ; but it is certain that he continued a prisoner in the Bass till July 1679, when, through a letter from the King to the Council, he and the other prisoners there were set at liberty, upon their giving security to appear before the Council when called, under a certain penalty for each.‡

After the third indulgence of King James VII. was published in July 1687,§ there was a meeting held at Edinburgh on the 21st of that month, consisting of ministers from different parts of the country, who had agreed to accept the benefit of the indulgence, at which

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii. p. 17.

† Ibid. p. 58.

‡ For the circumstances connected with his liberation, see Notice of William Bell, pp. 116-118.

§ For some account of King James's indulgences, see pp. 257, 258.

very judicious and useful rules were drawn up, one of which was, “ that special care be taken, that Edinburgh, which is the chief city of the nation, where courts and judicatures and persons of greatest quality reside, and which hath been most useful to suffering persons in these sad times, be specially regarded and provided with able, experienced, and godly men ;”* and on the day after, Law and three other ministers† were called to take the pastoral charge of the Presbyterians of Edinburgh. After the Revolution, when the Presbyterian Church emerged from persecution, he and the three other ministers were appointed by the Town Council ministers of the city. The act is dated July 24. 1689.‡

Prelacy had been abolished, by act of Parliament, just two days before the date of this appointment, an event which afforded Law much satisfaction. But in addition to this, he was anxiously desirous to see the legal establishment of that form of ecclesiastical polity for which, during the troubles of the two preceding reigns, he had sacrificed much.§ The following letter which he addressed to Mr Andrew Kennedy of Closeburn, exhibits the deep interest which he felt on that subject :—

“ 13th August 1689.

“ SIR,—I would have written to you, but that I had nothing wherewith to trouble you, and now I cannot but return you thanks for your concern in the affairs of this Church. The General Meeting has formed an address to be sent to his Ma-

* Wodrow's History, vol. iv. p. 432.

† The other three ministers were Mr Hugh Kennedy, Mr James Kirkton, and Mr William Erskine. See Appendix, No. II.

‡ See this act in Appendix, No. II.

§ Presbytery was not established till June 7. 1690.

jesty by some of their number, with a letter to the Secretary of State, which answers what you desire in your letter. We have discouraging accounts here, as if Prelacy might yet come to be established, but they are so vain that they are not laid much weight on, and are looked upon as artifices of those that wish us no good for creating of jealousies. And now, Sir, having so much experience of your prudence and honesty, I earnestly desire that you would lay out yourself (so far as your other occasions will allow) for informing of all those that you may have access to, of what is necessary for the good of this Church and peace of the land. I know there is one thing which makes a clamour here, and it's like it make one there also, and causes that we were so long in giving our address for establishing the government, and I can hardly, at such a distance, give the full account of this; only consider, that if the government had been established, all the conformed clergy might have constituted themselves in Presbyteries and Synods, and so would have had the government in their hand, the danger of which is palpable enough.* But I shall not be more particular in this, only persuade yourself we depend on none, but as they own the public interest. I shall allow you no further trouble, being in haste; only present my service to Leuchre. I am your sincerely affectionate and humble servant,

“JO. LAW.”†

Law had not as yet been settled in any particular congregation in Edinburgh, but on the 20th of April 1692, the Town Council, “upon several good consider-

* The danger to the Presbyterian interest which Law here so justly fears, had the conforming clergy got into their hands the government of the Church, was obviated by the policy of the Revolution government. Prior to the establishment of Presbytery, an act of Parliament was passed, April 25. 1690, restoring to their former charges the Presbyterian ministers who had been ejected for nonconformity to Prelacy; and in the act of Parliament, June 7. 1690, settling Presbyterian Church government, and appointing a meeting of the General Assembly to be held on the 16th of October that year, the government of the church is established in the hands of the outed ministers restored by the former act, with such ministers and elders as they had received or should hereafter receive.

† The Leven and Melville Papers, p. 152.

ations moving them, place, fix, and settle him to be minister of the New Church, being the North Church." In this church, which was attended by "the nobility, Lords of Session, and others of the best quality," he succeeded Dr Alexander Monro, who was tried by the Privy Council for not praying for King William and Queen Mary, in obedience to the Act of Estates, 13th April 1689, and who, though not ejected by them, resigned his charge. Here he continued to labour till 1707, when being unable, through age and infirmity of body, to discharge his ministerial duties, he demitted his charge into the hands of the Presbytery. The Town Council, "sensible with how much vigilance, prudence, piety, and zeal, he performed all the duties of a minister while free from sickness and infirmity, desiring to put a mark of their respect upon him," agreed to give him a thousand merks per annum as a retiring salary.* Law died on the 26th of December 1712, aged eighty, and was buried in the old church-yard of Greyfriars. Over his grave, his son William raised a monument which bears the following Latin inscription:

"MEMORIÆ OPTIMORUM PARENTUM, D. JOANNIS LAW, ECCLESIAE APUD EDINENSIS PASTORIS PRUDENTISSIMI, VIGILANTISSIMI, PURIORIS RELIGIONIS STUDIO & PIETATE NON FUCATA INSIGNIS; ET ISABELLÆ CUNINGHAME, CONJUGIS AMANTISSIMÆ, VERA SANCTITATE & PLACIDI AC SEDATI ANIMI ORNAMENTO CONSPICUÆ: QUI MORTALITATEM EXUERUNT, AD IMMORTALIS VITÆ GAUDIA NITENTES, ILLE 26. DIE DECEMBRIS, ANNO DOM. 1712. ÆTATIS SUÆ 80. HÆC 8. DIE NOVEMBRIS, ANNO DOM. 1703. ÆTATIS SUÆ 70. HOC MONUMENTUM SACRUM ESSE VOLUIT GULIELMUS LAW, FILIUS."

* Records of Town Council, Edinburgh, December 5. 1707. Law's successor was Mr William Carstairs, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of the Greyfriars' Church.

ROBERT ROSS.

OF ROBERT ROSS little is known. He is called by Wodrow "a preacher," and was probably licensed by some of the ejected nonconforming ministers. He is mentioned by a contemporary* as one of those who, after the battle of Pentland Hills, preached in the fields, and who, when preaching in that public manner was made a capital offence, still persevered in addressing, both by night and by day, the multitudes who assembled to hear the gospel. His name first occurs in the Records of the Privy Council in 1674, when, on the 4th of June, the Council authorise the Lord Chancellor to give orders to parties of that troop of horse of his Majesty's guards, under his command, to apprehend a considerable number of ministers, among whom Ross is included, and offer a reward of a thousand merks to such as should apprehend him.† Early in the year 1679, he and Mr James Macaulay, also a preacher, and another person who was under hiding for nonconformity, were apprehended in Leith. The Committee of Council for Public Affairs agreed that he and Macaulay should be sent to the Bass, and this report was approved

* Alexander Reid in his *Memoirs*, p. 26.

† See Notice of John Law, p. 279.

of by the Council at their meeting on the 4th of April.* He however continued a prisoner there only between three and four months, being liberated in July, simply upon condition of his finding security, under a certain sum, to appear before the Council when called. The circumstances connected with his liberation have been already stated.† We have not succeeded in tracing his future history.

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii, p. 17. .

† See Notice of William Bell, p. 116-118.

JAMES MACAULAY.

JAMES MACAULAY is as little known as the preceding. He is also described by Wodrow as "a preacher," and had probably been licensed to preach the gospel by some of the outed Presbyterian ministers. As we have seen, he was apprehended and imprisoned in the Bass at the same time with Robert Ross. He was also liberated in July 1679, upon his finding security to appear before the Council when called, under the penalty of a certain sum in case of failure.

GILBERT RULE.

GILBERT RULE was first a Regent in the University of Glasgow, where he taught with considerable reputation, and in 1651, was Sub-principal of King's College, Aberdeen. He afterwards became minister at Alnwick in Northumberland, where he continued for some time to discharge the duties of the ministerial office with diligence and success, and was greatly beloved by the generality of people.

But, upon the restoration of Charles II., his non-conformity exposed him to the troubles which were the common lot of those who could not conscientiously submit to the form of religion sanctioned by the Court. No sooner was that prince placed upon the throne of his fathers, than the old Liturgy was restored in his chapel, and the court, pretending that the acts of the Long Parliament, from their not having received the royal assent, were null, held Prelacy and the Service Book to be still established by law. Acting on this view, and bent on enforcing conformity, they immediately began to molest the nonconformists in England, and before the close of 1660, not a few parish ministers in that country were prosecuted for not using the Service Book. At this time Rule's public troubles commenced. One Major Orde, church-warden of Aln-

wick,—a man who had previously been very friendly to him,—either to ingratiate himself with the Court, or from his strong leaning to Prelacy, determined to force Rule to use the Service Book ; and one Lord's day in the end of July or beginning of August 1660, when the congregation was assembled for worship, and Rule had mounted the pulpit, and was about to commence the public work of the Sabbath, he came and presented the Service Book to him, desiring him to read it. Rule, who had various objections against using it, took it, and told him he would either read it or give reasons to the contrary. After concluding the first morning prayer, instead of expounding a portion of scripture as was his custom before sermon, he spoke to the congregation for about half-an-hour against the Service Book, and after again praying, preached as usual. Returning to the church in the afternoon, he found the doors secured against his entrance, and the congregation assembled around them. He preached to the numerous auditory in the churchyard. A few weeks after, he was summoned before the assize at Newcastle at the instance of Major Orde, charged with depreciating the Service Book, the charge being supported by notes of what he had said from the pulpit against it, taken at the time by one of Orde's associates. Rule not having appeared before the assize, Orde, determined not to allow the matter to drop, procured from the judge a special warrant to apprehend him. Rule getting information of this, immediately proceeded to Newcastle, where, meeting with the judge, he gave bond to appear at the next assize, and obtained a supersedeas to the warrant that had been issued against him. So deep was the offence which the Major had taken at Rule, and such was his zeal to injure him, that before going to

Newcastle, he went from house to house in the parish of Alnwick, attempting by threatening to prevent the people from subscribing a testimonial in favour of Rule's peaceable behaviour among them, which some were promoting, and which several hundreds had subscribed. He also openly insulted Rule in the streets of Newcastle. But he was not permitted long to persecute the victim of his wrath, being suddenly arrested by the hand of death. About three weeks after, returning homewards, and going a little out of the way to visit a friend, when about to cross on horseback the river Tyne at the end of the town of Ovingham, he fell from his horse to the ground before entering the water. Some who observed him fall, ran to his assistance, but on reaching him they found that life was extinguished, and the jury who held an inquest on his body, returned the verdict that he was dead before he fell from his horse.

Caution ought to be observed in tracing the strokes which are inflicted by the hand of Providence upon our fellow-men, to some injury which they may have done to ourselves or others, not only lest we should flatter human vanity, but lest we should put a false interpretation upon the doings of God, who, in sending his appalling visitations, as well as in distributing temporal good things, makes little apparent distinction between the righteous and the wicked. It must, however, be admitted, that sometimes instances do occur in which an arrest is put by the hand of death upon the wrong-doer in his infuriated career, in a manner so striking as to impress the least reflecting, and compel them to confess that verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth. In the present case we presume not to determine whether the death of Orde was the effect of

retributive justice for his persecuting a good man, believing this to be a matter which lies beyond the reach of human penetration ; but that sudden and awful visitation struck so great a terror in those who had joined with him against Rule, that they desisted from the prosecution, and when, according to his bond, Rule appeared at the next assize, he was acquitted.*

In 1662, Rule was ejected from his parish by the Act of Uniformity, commonly called the Bartholomew Act, by which above two thousand of the most pious, learned, and laborious ministers of the Church of England were driven from their charges. After his ejection, he returned to Scotland, but he soon found from experience that matters were in no better state there. We find him in November that year preaching about Kirkcaldy, and for this the Privy Council, upon "information being given them of the turbulent and seditious practices of Mr Gilbert Rule," pass an act on the 18th of November, ordering the Magistrates of that burgh to secure his person, and bring and present him before the Council on Friday next, when they were themselves required to appear. The Magistrates having appeared, reported that Rule had gone out of their bounds before they received the Council's orders, and could not be found, and that they had no share in inviting him to preach ; which excuse was sustained.†

Finding that he was not to be allowed to exercise his ministry in his own country, Rule went to France and Holland, where he studied medicine, and took the degree of doctor of medicine at Leyden. On his return

* Calamy's Account of Ministers Ejected or Sentenced after the Restoration, &c., vol. ii. pp. 514-518. "This account," says Calamy, "is from Dr Rule's own letter, dated at Edinburgh, September 2. 1696, which was found among Dr Simson's papers."

† Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 308.

to Scotland, he resided for some time in Berwick, where he frequently preached to the Presbyterians, both during the day and in the night; and also practised as a physician, in which capacity he proved very useful, being much employed and highly valued. He was not, however, permitted to persevere in this good work without molestation. Being, on one occasion, called to visit the Laird of Houndwood, on the Scottish side, and being under the necessity of staying at that gentleman's house all night, he expounded a chapter and prayed in the family, none but the members being present. For this, although even according to the existing laws it was not illegal, the Laird of Houndwood was fined 100 merks Scots, and had Rule been found on the Scottish side, he would in like manner have been punished; but apprehensive of the manner in which they would deal with him from the treatment to which Houndwood was subjected, he kept himself within the English borders. Some time after, the Earl of Hume, a violent enemy of the Presbyterians, and who often grievously harassed them with his troop of horse, resolved to seize Rule, and fell upon a very dishonourable stratagem to entrap him. He wrote to him a counterfeit letter, purporting to have come from Mr Ker of Nyne-wells, earnestly requesting the doctor to visit him, and to bring with him the proper medicines, as he was in the utmost extremity of the cholic, and to come with all haste else it might be too late to save his life. This letter the Earl of Hume sent to Rule by one of his own servants, disguised as a countryman. Rule, on receiving the letter, immediately prepared for visiting his supposed patient, but as he was just going to mount the horse, the messenger, touched with remorse that he should have a hand in such base treachery, disclosed

the whole affair, frankly telling him that the letter, which was a deception, was written with a design to get him apprehended, and that if he went it might cost him his life, for the Earl of Hume, whose servant he was, lay with his troop of horse at the Bound Road ready to seize him the moment he entered upon Scottish ground. "And thus," says Dr Calamy, "this good man providentially escaped the snares laid for him, by one whose noble blood ought to have made him ashamed of being concerned in a thing so unworthy of a man of honour. But fiery zeal will admit of no bounds or limits."

Shortly after Charles II. granted his third indulgence, in 1679, Rule became indulged minister at Prestonhaugh,* but he was not suffered to remain long in that situation. Not many months after his settlement there, he paid a visit to his niece, the wife of Mr John Kennedy, apothecary in Edinburgh. As she happened at that time to be confined, the family were desirous that he should baptize the child; and having spoken to Mr Turner, the Episcopal incumbent of St Giles's Church, on the subject, they prevailed with him to invite their friend to preach a sermon on a week-day in that church. Accordingly, Rule preached a sermon to a number of people who assembled, and at the close baptized Mr Kennedy's child, and another child belonging to Mr James Livingstone, merchant in Edinburgh,† not apprehending that what appeared so inoffensive, would displease the government, or be followed by any incon-

* Dr Calamy's account of this is, that several persons of quality and worth in Scotland, viz., the Earl of Haddington, Sir Robert Sinclair, and others, invited Dr Rule to preach in a meeting-house which they fitted up for him at Lintonbridge, not far from Haddington.

† Wodrow supposes that Mr James Livingstone was the son of the famous Mr John Livingstone, minister of Ancrum. Wodrow's History, vol. iii. p. 194.

venience ; but in doing this, he violated one of the restrictions attached to the third indulgence, which, while it “suspended the execution of all laws and acts against such as frequented house conventicles, in the low countries, on the south side of the river Tay only,” excepted “the town of Edinburgh, and two miles round about the same,” his Majesty declaring himself “fully resolved not to suffer the seat of government nor the universities to be pestered with any irregularities whatsoever.”* Rule thus fell under the operation of the laws and acts of Parliament made against keeping conventicles, and particularly the fifth act of the second session of his Majesty’s second Parliament, by which the preacher at house conventicles is liable to be seized upon, and imprisoned until he find caution, under the penalty of 5000 merks not to do the like thereafter, or else to engage to remove himself out of the kingdom, and never return without his Majesty’s licence.† He had also, it was maintained, contravened the sixth act of the same session of Parliament, by which “the disorderly baptizing of children is expressly prohibited and discharged.”‡ As the act “against disorderly baptisms” only prohibited his Majesty’s subjects from offering their children to be baptized by any but “their own parish ministers, or else by such ministers as are authorised by the established government of the Church, or licensed by his Majesty’s Council, upon a certificate from the minister of the parish,” Rule, as he was a licensed and indulged minister, and as he had the permission of the minister of the parish where he officiated and baptized the children, thought that what he did was quite consistent with

* Wodrow’s History, vol. iii. p. 149.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 169.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 173.

the law ; but the government were of a different opinion ; and the day after he was arrested in the streets of Edinburgh by an officer.*

For his offence he was summoned to appear before the Council on the 8th of April 1680. John Kennedy and James Livingstone, who had their children baptized by him, were summoned at the same time ; “ as also Mr Archibald Cameron, precentor in the High Church of Edinburgh, and John Neilson, merchant and kirk-treasurer of Edinburgh,” who are charged with having “ so far concurred in the said illegal and unwarrantable meeting and disorderly baptism, as that they were present at the same ; at the least the said Mr Archibald Cameron did take up the said children’s names from their parents, to be baptized by the said Mr Gilbert Rule ; and the said John Neilson did give order and direction for having the said kirk in readiness, and opening the kirk and desk doors, albeit he knew that the said Mr Gilbert Rule was to keep the said conventicle and disorderly meeting.” Rule, on appearing before the Council, frankly confessed that he had preached in the church of St Giles, and baptized two children, and stated that he thought he was sufficiently warranted in administering baptism to these children, from his having the permission of the minister of the parish ; but, at the same time, he declared that such was his deference to authority and to order, that provided he had thought that such an act would have been offensive, he would have declined doing it.† But notwithstanding this moderation, which one might sup-

* Dr Calamy’s Account of Ministers Ejected after the Restoration, &c., vol. ii. pp. 514-518.

† These facts Rule states in his petition to the Privy Council, 6th April 1681.

pose would have convinced the Council of the peaceable temper of Rule, and have induced them to overlook his alleged violation of the law in this instance, he was deprived of his indulgence, and sentenced to be imprisoned in the Bass ; while the two persons whose children he had baptized were fined according to the act of 1670, " against disorderly baptisms ;" but the other two individuals who had been summoned, having given satisfactory answers to the Council, got off without punishment. The act of Council, dated April 8. 1680, is as follows :—" The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council having heard and considered the foresaid libel and answers made by the defenders thereto, do find the said Mr Gilbert Rule, defender, by his own confession, guilty of keeping a conventicle and disorderly baptizing of two children in St Giles's Kirk, in Edinburgh ; and therefore suspend him from the benefit of his Majesty's indulgence for preaching in the parish of Prestonhaugh, and appoint him to be sent to, and kept prisoner in, the Isle of Bass, till the King's Majesty's pleasure be known anent him ; and give order and warrant to General Dalziel to send him prisoner to the said Isle by such a guard as he shall think fit ; and, until he be sent away, that he be kept prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh ; and ordain the Sheriff-depute of East Lothian to cause one of the sheriff-officers pass to the parish kirk, and publicly intimate the foresaid order : And find John Kennedy guilty of being at a conventicle, and having his child baptized by a person not authorised or licesed in that place, and therefore fine him in one hundred pounds Scots ; and find the said James Livingstone likewise guilty of being at the said conventicle, and having his child disorderly baptized, and fine him in two hundred

pounds Scots ;* and in regard of the answers made by the said John Neilson and Mr Archibald Cameron, the said Lords have assoilzied, and assoilzies them from the foresaid complaint."

Being considerably advanced in years, and the sea having been always injurious to his constitution, Rule was not long in this unwholesome prison when he became "dangerously sick of a violent ague." Upon this, he presented a petition to the Council stating his case, and humbly supplicating that the Council would be pleased to take off his sentence, and appoint him to be set at liberty upon caution to appear before them when called. The Council, at their meeting of 6th of May, "having heard and considered this petition, with the certificates of the physicians produced, grant order and warrant to the commander of the garrison in the Bass to set him at liberty, he finding caution, under the pain of ten thousand merks Scots, to re-enter himself prisoner in the said Isle of Bass the 6th day of June next; and in the mean time, that he shall confine himself to the town of Edinburgh, and half a mile about the same, and shall not preach nor administer the sacraments under the foresaid penalty."

This act, however, did not take effect, the conditions upon which it granted him his liberty being such as he could not conscientiously accept.† Accordingly, about two months after, he presented another petition to the

* The act of 1670 "against disorderly baptisms," does not warrant the fining of "a considerable merchant" above one hundred pounds; but Livingstone may have been an heritor, liferenter, or proper woodsetter, who were liable to be fined in a fourth part of their valued yearly rent.

† "The Council were willing in May," says Fountainhall, "to change his [Rule's] confinement to the town of Edinburgh, upon his finding caution not to preach in private there; but this he refused to do." Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 99; Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh, vol. i. p. 320.

Council, in which he states that he "is of considerable age and valetudinary, having had a violent and long fit of the ague since his imprisonment, and humbly supplicates that the Council would take his sick condition and infirmity into consideration, and give order for his liberation." The Council, in answer to this petition, on the 13th of July, "ordain him to be set at liberty, upon his finding sufficient caution, under the pain of five thousand merks Scots, to depart out of this kingdom within eight days, and not to return without the Council's licence."*

After being liberated upon giving this bond, Rule returned to Berwick, where he practised for some time as a physician. But as, in consequence of his sentence of banishment, he could not cross the border into Scotland, however many of his friends and acquaintances there might desire to enjoy the benefit of his medical skill, this at once lessened his usefulness and injured his pecuniary interests, which he could ill afford, being poor and having a numerous family. Anxious to be relieved from this restraint, he presented a petition to the Council, shewing that he "was graduated a physician at Leyden some sixteen or eighteen years ago, and has been in the practice of physic chiefly in the south parts of Scotland, and having a numerous family, and his friends and relations being deprived of that benefit they suppose they had by his skill and practice of medicine, and that he cannot and will not come into Scottish bounds, though often invited by his patients,

* Dr Calamy, in his account of Rule, says that he was confined in the Bass above twelve months, which is a mistake. The acts of Council shew that he was not imprisoned there much above three months—"an exorbitant punishment," says Wodrow, "for baptizing a child of his own niece at the desire of the minister of her parish." History, vol. iii. p. 195.

without your Lordships' allowance and permission ;" and praying that their Lordships would be pleased " to take the said restraint off the supplicant, that he may freely, and without molestation, exercise the calling of a doctor of medicine as formerly he was in use to do within this kingdom of Scotland." The Council, on the 6th of April 1681, "having heard and considered the petition, do, notwithstanding their former act prohibiting the petitioner to come to or reside within this kingdom, dispense with the said act till further orders, and allow the petitioner to come to and remain in this kingdom, that he may exercise his calling as doctor of medicine, with this certification, that if it shall be found he shall keep any conventicles, he shall lose the benefit of this act." The act is signed by Rothes, chancellor, as president of Council.*

After this, he embraced a call from a congregation in Dublin, where he continued for some time to discharge the duties of the sacred ministry with much acceptance. About the time of the Revolution, on the 7th of December 1688, he was called to be one of the ministers of the Presbyterians in the city of Edinburgh, and on the 24th of July 1689, this call was sanctioned by the Magistrates of the City,† although he had no fixed charge till some time after, when he became minister of the collegiate charge of the Greyfriars Church,‡ having succeeded Mr John Robison, Episcopal incumbent of that Church, who died in 1690.§ On the 26th of September 1690, he was appointed by

* Warrants of Privy Council.

† See Appendix, No. II.

‡ Mr John Hamilton, minister of Cramond, was appointed by the Town Council, on the 21st of June 1693, Rule's colleague in that charge.

§ An Account of Ministers and Parishes of the Church of Scotland at the Revolution. Kirk MSS. A, No. I. in Adv. Lib.

the Town Council of Edinburgh, Principal of the College, in the room of Dr Alexander Monro, who was deprived of his office on the 25th of that month by the visitors appointed by act of Parliament in July that year, for the visitation of universities, colleges, and schools, and invested with very ample powers.* On the 14th of October, having appeared before the Town Council, he accepted the office and gave his oath *de fidei administratione*; upon which, the Council appointed some of their number "to go over and actually install him in the foresaid charge."

Rule was one of the leading Presbyterian ministers at the Revolution, and the Government being very desirous that the first General Assembly, appointed to meet in October 1690, should avoid such measures as might tend to exasperate the Prelatists, whose resentment by the expulsion of their favourite monarch from the throne, and by the overthrow of Prelacy and the establishment of Presbytery, was sufficiently excited, were anxious to secure his influence for that purpose; nor was this difficult to obtain, for though a decided Presbyterian, he was far from being disposed to carry things with a high hand against the Prelatic party. Accordingly, the Earl of Melville, previous to that meeting, addressed the following letter to him,

* Dr Monro was deprived of the Principalship chiefly on the ground of his disaffection to the Revolution settlement, and his attachment to the exiled family; although, besides this, he had been accused of Socinianism and Arminianism, as well as other things, which, had they been substantiated, involved his moral character. Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh, vol. i. pp. 310, 313, 314. Monro had been appointed Principal on the 9th of December 1685. He was also minister of the High Church of Edinburgh, but had resigned his charge upon his expulsion from the College. He became minister of an Episcopal congregation in Edinburgh, and died in the year 1715. He was allowed to be a good scholar and a man of talents.

urging the necessity of prudent management and a speedy adjournment, in present circumstances :—

“ 10th October 1690.

“SIR,—Did I either consult my interest or quiet, I should abstract from all public affairs; but the desire I have to see the prosperity of my religion, king, and country, makes me willing to sacrifice my ease to the advancement thereof. I cannot but observe the critical juncture in which your Assembly meets, and I should neither be a friend to you nor the public interest, if I did not freely tell you that it would be to your advantage to make as sudden an adjournment of the Assembly as can be. Remember that you have a Parliament here to observe your motions, and a King that hath done more to satisfy you than either you suspected or enemies were willing you should believe would be done. Consider how much is at stake, and God himself direct you.—I am, Sir, your true friend and servant,

“ MELVILLE.”*

The wishes of the government expressed in this letter were punctually complied with, as appears from a letter which the Assembly, after its meeting was closed, addressed to the king, dated 12th November 1690, and subscribed by Hugh Kennedy, the Moderator:—“As in our answer to your gracious letter, directed to us in the entrance of this Assembly, we engaged to your Majesty, that in all things that should come before us we would carry with that calmness and moderation which becometh the ministers of the gospel of peace, and which your Majesty did so effectually recommend to us, so now, in the close of this our Assembly, we presume to acquaint your Majesty that, through the good

* The Leven and Melville Papers, p. 543. Similar letters were written to several others of the most eminent Presbyterian ministers, as Mr James Fraser of Brea, &c.

hand of God upon us, we have in a great measure performed accordingly.”* Prudence and expediency doubtless ought not to be disregarded in ecclesiastical proceedings, but both then and afterwards the Assembly seem to have regulated their procedure too much according to the will of the monarch, and less from a due regard to what the exigencies of the Church demanded, than became an ecclesiastical body responsible in spiritual matters solely to Christ, the alone King and Head of the Church.

Rule and Mr David Blair were appointed by the Assembly as commissioners to proceed to London to wait upon the king, and give him a more full and satisfying account of all that had passed, and obviate objections or misrepresentations which might be made against the Assembly; and they were quickly to be followed by Mr William Carstairs.† When these commissioners were at court, it is said that King William took particular notice of Rule, and shewed him much respect. Rule and Blair, upon their return, gave to the Commission, at a private meeting, an account of their interview with the king,—that he had graciously accepted their address,—that, anticipating their fears lest he might withdraw his favour from the Presbyterian Church to the Prelatic party, he told them, that being now at the mature age of forty, he was too old to change his sentiments, and that he would protect them, but, at the same time, hinted that they must expect to be dependent and subordinate.‡

We have said that, though a decided Presbyterian, Rule was not disposed to carry things with a high hand

* The Leven and Melville Papers, p. 367.

† Ibid. p. 570; Shield's Diary in Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. i. p. 201.

‡ Shield's Diary in Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. i. p. 202.

against the Prelatic party. As an instance of this, we may mention his disapprobation of the conduct of the Cameronians in 1689, in ejecting the curates, and destroying their canonical dress. Patrick Walker, the author of *Biographia Presbyteriana*, was far from being satisfied with him for the little sympathy he felt in that singular and summary mode of ejection. That eccentric character, who distinguished himself by exploits of this nature, and who tells us, that "there was never any public work that he put his hand to wherein he took so much delight," having, at the request of some ministers, drawn up a statement of all the cases of this kind in which he was concerned, communicated it to Rule with a view to its being made public. But Rule, probably judging that the narrative was more likely to do harm than good in the then excited state of the public mind, having thought proper to suppress it, its author was offended that the zeal of Rule in this matter had not reached the same high temperature with his own. "The curates, these poor objects of pity," says he, "afterwards published an account of their sufferings, stuffed with gross lies. Some ministers wrote to me to give a distinct account of every thing in the manner of their being put away, which I did of all the fifteen that I was at. It was given into the hands of Dr Rule, who, instead of confuting their gross lies, (wherein he had a large field,) vindicated the moderate Presbyterians of all such things, although the Convention of Estates justified us."*

Rule's zeal in promoting the scheme of the government for the admission of the Prelatic curates, not found insufficient, scandalous, or erroneous, to the exercise of the ministerial office and judicial power

* *Biograph. Presb.* vol. i. p. 282.

within the Presbyterian Church, simply upon their taking the oaths prescribed by the civil government, and promising to submit to the Presbyterian form of church government, and never to endeavour its subversion, was an instance of moderation which is to be viewed in a different light from the preceding. It was wrong in principle, and being adopted by the Church, proved deeply injurious to her best interests, while its baneful effects have extended down to our own day. The Estates of Parliament had by an act recommended to the Church to receive, upon the terms just now specified, such of the Prelatic clergy as should regularly apply for admission. His Majesty had also addressed to them a similar recommendation; and at last gave them to understand, that if they refused to comply with his will in receiving qualified curates, upon regularly applying, it might be detrimental to themselves, as he was determined to grant these curates his royal protection.* With the will of the Court in this matter, the Church, on no consideration, ought to have complied. All these curates had conformed to Prelacy; they had all solemnly sworn that the external government of the Church is an inherent right of the crown; they were all to be regarded as part and parcel of the late oppressive and persecuting government; not a few of them had been intruded upon their parishes by military violence, while troops of dragoons, fines, imprisonment, and torture, were all employed to compel the refractory people to attend their churches; and many of them had been the chief instigators and promoters of the persecution, had acted the part of spies and informers, and hunted out the military to harass and seize upon the Presbyterians. To admit them,

* Memoirs of James Hog, pp. 112, 113.

then, into the Presbyterian Church simply upon the condition required by the government, without any professions or evidence of repentance for the past, was a piece of the most reckless impolicy that can well be conceived, "for no wise man will rashly trust open and sometimes violent and persecuting enemies, without good securities that they were become real friends, which in this case was neither offered nor sought."* The majority of the curates, indeed, entertaining high hopes of the restoration of James VII., declined to avail themselves of the benefit of this scheme of comprehension with the Revolution Church; but still hundreds of them entered by the door thus opened for them, and combining with others previously in the fellowship of the Church, who were too much disposed to adopt a temporising policy, they formed what has been called *the Moderate party*, which long held an entire ascendancy in the judicatories of the Established Church.

Rule went entirely into the measures of the Court in this matter. When it was debated, at a meeting of the General Assembly, in reference to the instructions given to presbyteries, whether the curates should be received without purging themselves of the scandal of their having conformed to Prelacy, Mr Kirkton and others urged the necessity of their acknowledging that scandal; Rule and others opposed it; while the generality were for delaying receiving any of them till the next General Assembly.† The great argument which Rule employed was, that were the scheme of the government rejected, many parishes, from the scarcity of ministers, would be thrown vacant, and be deprived of

* Memoirs of Mr James Hog of Carnock, p. 112.

† Shield's Diary, in Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i. p. 201.

the preaching of the gospel. It was unfortunate for the cogency of this argument, that many of the curates were erroneous in doctrine, while others were destitute of gifts suitable for the edification of the people. It is, therefore, no wonder that some regarded this as a mere pretext. "It is like," says Mr James Hog of Carnock, in a letter to a friend, "that you have heard of that paper that Mr Rule, now minister of Edinburgh, published in favour of the curates, with consent (as he says) of most part of his brethren. I shall not mention the pretext—the great one is obvious to all—as, forsooth, many places will want the ordinances, and therefore it is fit they should give them poison, rather than that they should have nothing to eat."* It is no doubt true that the Church had the power to refuse to admit such of the curates as were erroneous or insufficient; but from the overwhelming influence employed by the government to secure their admission, and from the too accommodating policy of the leaders of the Church, the faithful exercise of this power could hardly looked for.

At length Rule was visited with his last illness, which continued for some time, and which he bore with exemplary patience and much serenity of mind. The ruling passion is strong even in death. This was exemplified in the last moments of this good man. A short time previous to his death his mind wandered a little, and he told his friends that he had a sermon to preach to Edinburgh before he died. They endeavoured to divert his mind from this idea, but without effect. He was determined to be out of his bed and to go to the pulpit to preach his last sermon. When no entreaty could prevail, one present proposed to him, that

* Wodrow's MSS., vol. ix. 8vo, no. 19.

he should preach it to his friends in the house. With this proposal he agreed, and desiring them to put his gown upon him, and to bring his bible, he went through all the parts of public worship, first read the psalm and gave out the line, then prayed, then read out his text, which he opened up and applied very closely ; and after sermon he prayed, sung another psalm, and pronounced the apostolic blessing, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen." These were his last words, for immediately after pronouncing them he expired. "This," as Wodrow remarks, "was indeed a very pleasant end of this great man, just as it were at his work."* Rule died in 1701.

Rule filled the office of Principal with great reputation. The chair of Theology was at that time also occupied by an eminent man, Dr George Campbell.† These two men were indeed, in their day, the brightest ornaments of the University. The following anecdote is told of their indefatigable application, and of the intimate friendship which subsisted between them. Their houses were so situated, that the windows of the apartments where they studied were directly opposite to each other. Rule used to sit late at his studies,

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. . p. 215. Wodrow states that he received this account from the Laird of Pardovan, who had it from Rule's son, Alexander, who was present.

† Dr George Campbell was first settled minister at Dumfries. On being appointed Professor of Divinity in the College of Edinburgh, and one of the city ministers, he was averse to leave his charge in Dumfries ; but the General Assembly having agreed to his transportation, he was induced to comply, and removed to the capital during the course of the year 1690. He was the founder of the theological library attached to the Divinity Hall. It was founded on the 18th of May 1698. Bower's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 337 ; and vol. ii. p. 92.

and Campbell was in the habit of rising early in the morning, so that his candle was often lighted before the Principal had retired to rest. From this circumstance, the one was commonly called the "Evening Star," and the other the "Morning Star." The Principal died first, and when the news of the event was brought to the Professor, he was deeply affected, and said with much emotion, "The Evening Star is now gone down, and the Morning Star will soon disappear." Nor was he mistaken; for he did not long survive his friend, having died in the autumn of 1701.

Rule had a numerous family. His son Gilbert practised as a physician, and Andrew was an advocate. Alexander became a licentiate of the Church, and was appointed Professor of Hebrew in the College of Edinburgh in February 1694; but he had not been many years in that situation, when the Council, owing to certain irregularities in his conduct, were under the necessity of requesting him to give his demission into their hands, promising some allowance during their pleasure in regard of his circumstances. This allowance was not intrusted to him, but given to a friend for his use.

From the zeal with which he espoused the cause of the covenant, and from the ability with which he defended Presbytery, and met the champions of Prelacy, Rule became exceedingly obnoxious to the prelatic party, and many things were said by them in disparagement of his talents and learning. For example, Dr Pitcairn, a celebrated physician in Edinburgh, and a violent Jacobite, in his Comedy of the Scotch Assembly, ridicules his ignorance of the Latin tongue. In that performance, Dr Rule is introduced under the name of Mr Salathiel Little-sense, speaking thus:—

“ *Biblia*, the Bible ; *potest apprehendi*, can be apprehended ; *cum mediis extraordinariis et supernaturalibus*, with supernatural and extraordinary means. It was ay good Latin that runs smooth and sounds well.”* But little stress is to be laid on what is said in prejudice of a presbyterian and a whig by this author, whose antipathies were strong, and who, as he was the greatest wit of his time, was accustomed to indulge without restraint in the severest sarcasm against such as, from difference of political sentiment or otherwise, provoked his censure. Bower, who will be acquitted of being prejudiced in favour of Rule, formed a more candid and just estimate of his abilities and learning. “ The favourers of Episcopacy,” says this writer, “ were accustomed in these days to undervalue his talents, and to make odious comparisons between him and some of his predecessors. But the truth is, that their theological systems were so different that it was impossible for either party to judge impartially. Dr Rule’s moral and religious character was excellent ; and if we are to judge from his works, his talents were respectable, and will bear to be compared with the greater number of those with whom he entered the lists in controversy. His treatise in answer to Dr Stillingfleet’s ‘ Unreasonableness of Separation,’ is written with great temper, and is at least as formidable as the work to which it is intended as a reply. In his extreme old age he wrote an answer to a work of Dr Monro’s against the new opinions of the Presbyterians of Scotland, in which he styles himself *Miles Emeritus*. He discovers a thorough acquaintance with the subject.”†

* Biographical Notice of James Kirkton, prefixed to his History, p. xvii.

† Bower’s History of the University of Edinburgh, vol. i. p. 321.

The works which Rule published are the following :—

1. *Modest Answer to Dr Stillingfleet's Irenicum*; by a learned pen. Lond. 1680, 8vo. This was an answer to Stillingfleet's book in so far as the Presbyterians are concerned with it. Stillingfleet pleads in it, that no particular form of church government is exhibited in the New Testament.
2. *A Rational Defence of Nonconformity against Dr Stillingfleet*. Lond. 1689, 4to.
3. *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland*, being an Answer to a paper entitled, *Some Questions concerning Episcopal and Presbyterial Government in Scotland, &c.* Edin. 1691, 4to.
4. *A Defence of the Vindication of the Church of Scotland*, in Answer to the *Apology of the Clergy of Scotland*. Edin. 1694, 4to.
5. *The Cyprianick Bishop examined and found not to be a Diocesan, nor to have superior power to a parish minister or Presbyterian moderator*; being an answer to John Sage's* *Principles of the Cyprianick Age*; together with an Appendix, in answer to a railing preface to a book entitled, *The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*. Edin. 1696, 4to.
6. *The Good Old Way Defended*, in support of Presbytery against the attempts of A. M., D. D. [Alexander Munro, D. D., Principal of Edinburgh College.] Edin. 1697, 4to.
7. *Discourse of Suppressing Immorality and Promoting Godliness*. Edin. 1701, 4to.†

* Mr John Sage was minister at Glasgow, and was outed at the Revolution. He was born in Fifeshire 1652, and died at Edinburgh in 1711. He was a man of learning, and distinguished himself in his day by his writings in defence of Episcopacy, and against the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

† Dr Watts' *Bibliotheca Britannica*, vol. ii. article Rule; Dr Charteris' *Catalogue of Scottish Writers*.

JOHN DICKSON.

JOHN DICKSON is said to have been related to the well-known Mr David Dickson, minister of Irvine,* but we have not discovered any particulars respecting his parentage and early life. Having devoted himself to the ministry, he went through the ordinary course of preparation, and, after receiving licence, was ordained minister of Rutherglen in the year 1656. At that time the disputes between the Resolutioners and Protesters had reached a great height, and the latter party, from his having adopted their views, had an active hand in his settlement in that parish. Baillie, in recording his settlement, betrays strong prejudice against him, as he usually does against all who belonged to the Protesters. "In Rugland, [Rutherglen,]" says he, "against the people's heart, they [the Protesters] have planted a little maniken of small parts, whom I never saw, and forced old Mr Robert Young, albeit as able yet as ever, to give over his ministry."† From this account we learn that Dickson was small of stature, but that his gifts are underrated, is evident from a number of his letters still in existence, which shew him to have been a man of respectable talents.

* Scots Worthies, edition, Leith, 1816, p. 494.

† Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 314.

Soon after the restoration of Charles II., Dickson was summoned to appear before the Committee of Estates, in consequence of information communicated to the government by Sir James Hamilton of Elistoun, and some disaffected parishioners in Rutherglen, of his having given utterance in the pulpit to certain disrespectful and reproachful expressions against the government and Committee of Estates.* On appearing, in obedience to the summons, on the 13th of October 1660, he was immediately imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, where he was kept till the Parliament sat; and his church was declared vacant.† But about the time of the execution of Mr James Guthrie, which took place on June 1. 1661, he gave in to the Parliament an acknowledgment of a fault in what he had spoken,‡ and was thereafter permitted to return to his parish, of which he was still continued the minister.§ The Magistrates of Rutherglen, after this, denied the validity of his right as a minister of the parish, and, on this ground, forcibly kept his servants from cutting down and gathering in the crop upon the glebe, which he had laboured and sown at his own expense. But their endeavours against him were unsuccessful. On his complaining against the Magistrates in a petition to the Privy Council, the Council, on the 18th of Sep-

* Baillie says that Dickson "was confined to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, for many odious speeches in pulpit against the statesmen." *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 447.

† Wodrow's *History*, vol. i. p. 79.

‡ Baillie, in a letter to Mr William Spang, after recording Mr James Guthrie's sentence of death, and observing that Mr Patrick Gillespie "had gone the same gate, had not his friends persuaded him to recant his remonstrance, protestation, compliance with the English, and to petition the King and Parliament for mercy," adds, "Mr John Dickson of Rutherglen did follow his way." *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 467.

§ Row's *Continuation of the Life of Robert Blair*.

tember 1661, "grant warrant and order to the said Mr John Dickson to shear, lead, and dispose upon the corns and crop growing upon the glebe this present year 1661, and discharge any other whatsoever to trouble him, or any having warrant from him in the ingathering thereof, and, if need be, ordain letters to pass hereupon as offers."*

Dickson did not, however, remain long after this minister of Rutherglen. Having been ordained to that parish since 1649, he fell under the operation of the act of Parliament, passed in May 1662, which required all ministers ordained since 1649 to receive presentations from their respective patrons, and collation from the bishops of their respective bounds, under the penalty of deprivation ;† and as he could not conscientiously comply with the requirements of this act, he was, like hundreds more of his brethren in the ministry, forced to abandon his flock. Although, however, ejected from this corner of the vineyard, he continued to exercise the duties of his sacred office as he found opportunity, thus bearing testimony to the freedom of Christ's ambassadors to dispense the ordinances of the gospel not only without licences from the civil magistrate, but when they were peremptorily discharged, under severe penalties, to preach, baptize, and exercise the other functions of the ministry.

Dickson, though not among the very first of the ejected ministers who betook themselves to the fields to preach,‡ yet, at an early period, joined with them

* Decrees of Privy Council.

† See p. 4.

‡ Mr John Welsh, and Mr Gabriel Semple, who both belonged to the Presbytery of Dumfries, were the first who preached in the fields after their ejection. They "used to travel up and down the stewartry of Galloway," says Blackadder, "and some places of Nithsdale, keeping public meetings in the fields, in mosses and moors. They began the first

in that perilous work, and persevered in it with much activity and zeal; travelling from place to place, "enduring afflictions, doing the work of an evangelist, making full proof of his ministry." Alexander Reid, in his *Memoirs*, makes honourable mention of the early zeal of Dickson, and some others in this work. "The Lord after this [the spring of the year after Pentland]," says he, "mercifully provided the gospel mostly in the night-time, and stirred up his servants to preach the gospel in that time, because of hazard in the day-time, except in the remote places of the moorlands, where they preached by day in mosses and mountains. The field ministers that came out were Mr John Welsh, Mr Gabriel Semple, Mr Samuel Arnot, Mr John Blackadder, Mr John Dickson, Mr Robert Archibald, Mr Thomas Hog, whom the nonconformists heard sometimes by night, sometimes by day; and I did hear them sometimes, amongst others, which was a mean to strengthen me and others to continue in the faith, and to hold by our profession."*

And in An account of the sufferings of the people in Kinross-shire for nonconformity to prelacy, several particulars in reference to his preaching in the fields as well as in private houses, in that part of the country, are preserved. It is said that, "in the year 1669, in the month of October, the gospel was first preached by Mr John Blackadder in the open fields, in the corn-yard of Balcanquhal. The second time, Mr John Dickson preached upon the 22d day of that same month in Glenvail. And the third time, Mr David Hume preached in the month of November; but many times in houses before this, as in the house of Robert

Sabbath after they were put out, for they kept a public meeting in Corsackwood, they being both lodged at Corsack's house, where they stayed about the space of a year." Crichton's *Blackadder*, p. 97.

* Pp. 23-25.

Stark, merchant in Milnathort, and in the house of David Coventrie, portioner of Aiclarie, and in other houses in the parish of Orwell." It is again said, that "in the year 1670, Mr John Dickson preached in the Newbigging of Lethangie, in the parish of Kinross, upon the 13th day of February, in the evening. And one Robert Steedman, commonly called Rob at the Cross, took away the said Mr Dickson's horse, and put him into the tolbooth; which horse was gotten again for one boll of malt. Mr Dickson continued preaching several nights through the shire. And upon the 15th or 16th of the month of June thereafter, Mr Blackadder and Mr Dickson came to the hill of Beath on the Sabbath-day, where there was a great meeting of persons who came from the east end of Fife, and as far west as Stirling, to hear sermon."*

The field meeting which Dickson and Blackadder kept at Beath-hill, above Dunfermline, here referred to, deserves to be particularly noticed, as it was amongst the first armed field conventicles, as it greatly irritated the government, and as it was attended and followed, in an eminent degree, with the divine blessing. Blackadder went, at the earnest desire of several gentlemen in that part of the country, and particularly of the laird of Ford, "whose representations of the ignorance and profanity of that district, made a deep impression on his mind." Aware of the danger which would attend such a meeting, both to the ministers and hearers, from the disaffection of the nobility in that part of the country, and from the rudeness of the inhabitants, who had not been accustomed to any thing of this kind, he did not communicate his purpose till the Sabbath preceding, when he

* Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxiii., folio, no. 143. This meeting was held on the 18th of June, and not on the 15th or 16th.

spoke to Dickson on the subject, requesting his assistance on the occasion, and charging him to keep their intention secret. Dickson readily consented; but on the Thursday preceding, on his way to Kirkcaldy, he dropt some hints of it, which speedily spread along the coast of St Andrews, and up both sides of the Forth to Stirling. The place of meeting, though not exactly known, was understood to be near Dunfermline. On Saturday afternoon, people began to assemble. Many lay on the hill all night; some stayed about a constable's house near the middle of the hill, and several others were lodged in the neighbourhood, among whom was John M'Lellan, laird of Barscob, with nine or ten men from Galloway. Early on the Sabbath morning, a great number of people were collected together, and more were still assembling. When a suitable place for the meeting was selected, a tent was erected, and Dickson commenced the work of the day about eight o'clock in the morning, while Blackadder lay at the outskirts, within hearing, with the view of ordering matters, and observing how the watch was kept. After lecturing for a considerable time, Dickson preached a sermon from 1 Cor. xv. 25, "For he must reign until he hath put all enemies under his feet," in which he insisted on Christ's kingly office and the necessity of his reigning, asserting the sovereignty of the Mediator over his own house, ordinances, and ambassadors, and testifying against the invasions made upon them.* During

* Christ's kingly power over the Church, was, indeed, the great truth for which the Presbyterians contended during the persecution, in opposition to the claims of the monarch, who arrogated, as an inherent right of his Crown, the royal power and supremacy which belong to Christ alone, as King in Zion. Speaking on this subject, after the Revolution, Dickson says, "Although the sufferings of our late brethren seemed to be heavy to bear, yet two prime truths were sealed with their blood (and that of the

the time of the sermon, several disaffected country people joined the audience ; which, being observed by Blackadder, and those appointed to watch, he resolved to suffer all to come and hear, but to prevent, with as little noise as possible, any from going away. During the sermon, the lieutenant of the militia in that district was at the foot of the hill gathering his men, but no attempt was made on the meeting, and the forenoon's service was concluded, without disturbance, about eleven o'clock.

In the afternoon Blackadder preached a sermon on these words, 1 Cor. ix. 16, " For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of ; for necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel ;" in which he insisted on the necessity lying on ministers to publish the gospel, and Christ's kingly office in maintaining and carrying on the dispensation of it. After he had begun, the lieutenant of the militia came to the meeting with a few of his men. Alighting, he gave his horse to hold, and coming in among the people on the minister's left hand, stood for some time hearing peaceably. He then attempted to get to his horse, which when some of the watch perceived, fearing that he was going to bring a party to trouble them, they desired him to stay till the close of the sermon, as his abrupt departure would alarm the people. He refused to stay,

best, as of our honourable nobles, faithful ministers, gentry, burgesses, and commons of all sorts), which were never before sealed, either by the blood of our primitive martyrs, or our late martyrs in the dawning of our Reformation ; and the two truths were Christ's Headship in the Church, in despite of supremacy and bold Erastianism, and our covenants. . . . The primitive martyrs sealed the prophetic office of Christ with their heart's blood ; the reforming martyrs sealed his priestly office with their blood ; but last of all, our martyrs have sealed his kingly office with their best blood." Scots Worthies, edition, Leith, 1816, p. 498. The reader will perceive that Blackadder's discourse was on the same theme.

and began to threaten, drawing his staff; which when the laird of Barscob and another young man on the opposite side observed, thinking it to be a sword, they instantly ran each with a bended pistol, crying out, "Rogue, are you drawing?" Blackadder seeing this, and afraid lest they should have killed the lieutenant, broke off his discourse, and desiring the audience to remain composed for a little, stepped aside and said, "I charge and obtest you not to meddle with him, or do him any hurt," which had the desired effect upon them. The lieutenant hearing the minister discharging the people to hurt him, thrust forward to be at him, and complained to him that he could not get leave to stand on his own ground for those men. "Let me see, sir," said Blackadder, "who will offer to wrong you; they shall as soon wrong myself; for we came here to offer violence to no man, but to preach the gospel of peace; and, sir, if you be pleased to stay in peace, you shall be as welcome as any here; but if you will not, you may go; we shall compel no man." "But," said he, "they have taken my horse from me." Then Blackadder called upon them to restore him his horse, as he was unwilling to stay longer; upon which they dismissed him without harm. When the lieutenant was gone, and the tumult composed, Blackadder returned to the tent and continued preaching an additional three quarters of an hour. All the time, several horsemen were riding hither and thither at the foot of the hill, in view of the people, but they were so alarmed that none offered to come near them. A little before the close of the sermon, Dickson took horse with another gentleman, and left the meeting.*

Many false reports were circulated concerning this

* Crichton's *Memoirs of Blackadder*, pp. 143-149.

meeting. It was, for example, alleged that there had been a preconcerted design to hold it on that hill, out of contempt of the Government, whereas the spot was only selected by the Covenanters that morning, and the hill preferred for greater security, as they could there see about them, and be better able, if assaulted upon one side, to make their escape upon the other, which was the principal reason for keeping these meetings on hill sides.* It was also reported that the number at the meeting amounted to some thousands, that many of them were in arms, and that they met with a design to create an insurrection; whereas the meeting, according to the best conjecture of such as were present, did not exceed a thousand, if there were so many; the number armed were not more than twenty or thirty, and rising in arms, as in their circumstances it would have been the greatest infatuation, was not at all thought of. But these allegations, unfounded though they were, had no small influence in exciting the resentment of the government; and they were eagerly laid hold of and improved by the enemies of the Presbyterians, and especially by Archbishop Sharp, to inflame the Council against them. Every effort was made to discover the ministers and such as had been present at the meeting. Those who were delated were summoned to appear before the Council, and such as appeared were subjected to no small suffering. Yea, so infuriated was the government, that upon the sitting down of the Parliament a short time after, a cruel act was made declaring field conventicles to be death to the minister and the convener.† Troops were also sent to Kinross and Falkland, where they

* "I never knew," says Blackadder, "of any meeting of that sort in fields or hills, kept out of contempt, but out of necessity, and for the better convenience of the people."

† Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy.

lay grievously oppressing the country, and searching for those who answered not the Council, so that all such were forced to flee their dwellings ; and for about the space of two years there was no preaching by the Presbyterian ministers in that part of the country, except in the night-time. But when the troopers went out of the shire, field preaching was renewed.*

While earthly powers were thus roused to fury by this conventicle, it is delightful to know that it was attended and followed by signal marks of the approbation of Him to whom all power in heaven and earth is given. In proof of this, we may quote the account given of it by Mr Robert M'Ward, which is the substance of a communication in reference to it which he received from Dickson himself. " As he [Mr Dickson] modestly confessed the unusual assistance he had at that appearance, so it was more confirmed by the testimony of all who that day heard him, who testified that he spoke so unlike himself with such power and ministerial authority, with such a manifest presence and mighty assistance of that King, against the usurpation of whose crown and throne he bore witness, that if his face had not been seen none would have taken him to have been Mr Dickson. The success of that day will make it a day to be remembered, for from that day remarkably the gospel spread through Fife, and that King there pleaded for went forth amongst them conquering and to conquer. You and I both know very well how little ground of hope there was that the gospel should have had any remarkable success amongst that people. For myself, I was hopeless of them above most people in Scotland, in regard they had been belaboured by so

* An Account of the Sufferings of the People in Kinross-shire for Non-conformity to Prelacy, Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxiii. folio, no. 143.

many able, serious, faithful, gospel ministers with very small success ; and yet, which makes the matter more strange, since that time more good hath been done amongst them than ever was done during all the time of our reformation by the ministry of these great men of God. And here I cannot forbear to tell you, what one of the most sober, pious, and in your own esteem, one of the most faithful ministers of the Church of Scotland in Fife, [said] to myself, which was, that he judged it to be the sweetest foot of ground upon the earth, and as to himself, his enlargements and liberty amongst them were beyond what it was any where else.* These statements are confirmed by the testimony of Blackadder, who, in enumerating several effects which followed this meeting, observes, “ 1. Many who were formerly enemies or neutrals became friends and followers of such meetings afterwards, especially in that barbarous part of the country : for that day the Lord took possession anew in these bounds in the face of great opposition. 2. It was observed that several in diverse parts did date the time of their spiritual birth and conversion from that day.” He again says, after speaking of the meeting being disapproved of, and the ministers who preached at it condemned as rash and inconsiderate by the indulged ministers and others,† “ Yet many who took latitude to speak evil against it were made to retract and change their tune, when they saw the good effects the Lord brought out of it ; in particular, a greater

* Letter of M'Ward to Mr John Carstairs, Wodrow MSS. vol. lvii., fol., no. 15.

† The indulged ministers had heard and gave out that there was a design to rise in arms, and they were afraid that it might prevent them from obtaining a new indulgence, which was expected at Lauderdale's coming down to that second session of Parliament. One of the most eminent of them used that expression about it, “ The hill of Beath hath done us much skaith.” Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy.

enlargement and propagation of the free preaching of the gospel, not only in that shire, but also in many other shires in Scotland ; for several more ministers who were not only condemners of this particular practice, but had been averse from that way of preaching at these meetings called conventicles, especially in the fields, I say many more were made willing and forward to the work, and waxed more bold to preach when it was made more hazardous by new laws." Its effects extended even beyond Scotland, for when the Presbyterians at London, who had been much discouraged by their meetings being discharged and assaulted, heard of it, they immediately set about their meetings again, and kept them more frequently than ever ; and when the news of it reached Rotterdam, one of the ministers of the Scottish congregation there, Mr Robert M'Ward, gave public thanks to God for such a testimony against the usurped supremacy of the Crown over the Church.

Whether the Council had discovered who were the preachers at the meeting at Beath-hill, does not appear, but Dickson and Blackadder were summoned to appear before the Council on the 11th of August 1670, for holding conventicles in houses and in fields ; and failing to appear, they were in their absence denounced and put to the horn.* In these circumstances, prudence suggested the necessity of a temporary retreat, and Dickson retired to London, while Blackadder concealed himself here and there in Edinburgh, but being searched for by the guards, he was forced to flee and lurk in the Merse.

Dickson did not remain long in London. Returning to Scotland, he continued to preach in private houses or in the fields, as he found most convenient. In the winter

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 153.

preceding the time called *the blink*, on the invitation of some friends, he held a meeting in Crail, the parish in which Archbishop Sharp had been minister, and where much ignorance, profanity, and enmity to the work of God abounded. This meeting, which was held in a private house, at night, and attended by several of the most civil people in the place, as well as by some respectable gentlemen, experienced one of those interruptions which such assemblages often met with in those days. The disaffected having got information respecting it, resolved to disperse it, and the militia of the town, headed by one Lieutenant Hamilton, proceeded to the house in a hostile manner, and broke in with drawn swords, as if it had been their purpose to murder all the people within, who were met in a harmless way, and in no capacity to defend themselves. They seized the minister, the laird of Kinkel and his brother, with some others; and sent information to a party of horse who lay at Pittenweem. Meanwhile, however, those who were apprehended compounded with the lieutenant and were liberated. But before they escaped, the troopers came to the town to the street before the house, and would have made them prisoners had they not made their exit by a back door through a yard whither they had given orders for their horses to be brought. When the troopers came in, and on searching found none of the whigs, their rage was deeply excited against the lieutenant, whom they abused for disturbing them at that time of night, on account of men whom he had allowed to escape. This was the first meeting of that kind which had ever been kept in that place.*

* Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy; and Crichton's printed edition, pp. 158-160.

When, on the 4th of June 1674, orders were issued by the Council for sending out parties of horse to apprehend some of the most notorious preachers at conventicles, Dickson is particularly specified as one of them; a thousand merks are offered to such as shall apprehend him, and indemnity is secured for any slaughter which may be committed in the attempt. But he, notwithstanding, escaped falling into their hands for several years.

In July 1676, he assisted at a very solemn communion, which was observed in the Castle of Balvaird. On this occasion, Mr Alexander Moncrieff preached the action sermon, and Mr John Blackadder, Mr David Hume, and Mr John Wellwood, were the other assistants.

After this, he came and preached in the parish of Kinross, at Cassigour. When he was in the midst of his sermon, the Sheriff-clerk of Kinross came and charged him to desist, but was prevented from doing him any harm. About the same time he preached in a park near the church of Tullibole. On being informed of the intended conventicle, the curate of Fossaway and Tullibole, whose name was Ireland, to whom, as well as to the rest of the curates, field meetings were a great eye-sore, came to the church of Tullibole that day to hinder his parishioners from going to hear Dickson, and so filled was he with spite and envy that, on hearing the meeting sing psalms, he sat down and wept. Yea, so inveterate was his malice, that he caused one of his parishioners stand before the congregation in white sheets, for having been present; and the next week he went to Stirling and brought east a party of the King's Guards, to prevent similar scenes

from occurring in future.* This curate was evidently of a very different spirit from that of the apostle Paul, who had so deeply at heart the promulgation of the gospel, that he rejoiced to see this accomplished, by whatever instrumentality.

In 1677, the Lord's Supper began to be celebrated in the open field. Dickson assisted at two of these interesting and solemn occasions, the one of which was observed at East Nisbet in the Merse, and the other at Irongray. Both these were "armed conventicles;" for the people judged it necessary, especially at communions in the fields, where they were to stay together from Saturday till Monday, that some of them should be armed, that thus they might compose the multitude from needless alarms, and prevent, as far as possible, in a harmless defensive way, any affront to so solemn and sacred a work, in which they could not engage without the risk of being assaulted by parties of militia and mercenary troops, who, led by unprincipled officers, and sent forth by a despotic government, were employed like so many bloodhounds from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, in active search for the victims of prelatic persecution.† Of both these meetings we shall give a brief narrative, deriving our information from Blackadder's Memoirs, in which a minute and an authentic account of them is preserved.

We begin with the communion celebrated at East Nisbet, in the Merse. The ministers employed at this solemnity, besides Dickson, were Mr John Blackadder,

* Account of the sufferings of the people in Kinross, Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxiii. folio, no. 143.

† Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy. In speaking of the people coming armed to these sacramental occasions, and to field meetings in general, Blackadder states that they did this of themselves, "without the upstirring of the ministers."

Mr John Welsh, Mr Archibald Riddell, and Mr John Rae. It was numerously attended, the multitude who assembled together, from all quarters, amounting to several thousands. Before the commencement of the services, the people had some apprehensions that an attempt might be made to disperse them, having heard that the Earl of Hume, with his troop of horse and a party of soldiers, intended to assault them, and had profanely threatened to make their horses drink the communion wine. They were also aware that several of the gentry, and the generality of the common people in that district, were disaffected to them and their cause. But, through the kindness of Providence, no molestation was experienced. To protect from invasion the assembly and solemn work, some of the gentlemen present drew together about seven or eight score of horse on the Saturday, equipped with such furniture as they had. Of these, parties of about twelve or sixteen men were appointed to ride forth towards the most suspected parts, and single horsemen were also despatched to greater distances to view the country, and give warning in case of danger. The remainder of the horse were drawn round the people as a kind of rampart, at such distances as they might hear sermon, and be in readiness in case of the approach of the enemy.

Having thus used every means in their power for the protection of the meeting, they entered on the services of the solemn occasion, committing it and themselves to the invisible protection of the Lord of Hosts, in whose name they were gathered together, and in whose work they were employed. The place where they were assembled was peculiarly well adapted for such a work, as if it had been formed on purpose. It

was a verdant and pleasant haugh, hard by the side of the Whitader, with a spacious brae in front and on either hand in form of a semicircle, covered with delightful pasture, and rising with a gentle slope to a goodly height. The communion tables were set in the midst of the haugh, around which a large number of the people were congregated; but the great body of them sat on the face of the brae, which was crowded from top to bottom, presenting, perhaps, the finest and most lovely sight of the kind which many present ever beheld.

The ministers and the most of the people lodged during the nights of the solemnity in three adjacent country towns, where they punctually paid for their accommodation, and the provisions they got for themselves and their horses; but several yeomen, in good outward circumstances, refused to take money for any thing they provided, cheerfully and liberally entertaining both ministers and gentlemen at their own expense. Each day, at the dismissing of the assembly, the horsemen drew up in a body till the congregation left the place, and then marched up in order at a little distance behind the ministers and people who went to these towns; and on coming near the towns, they divided into three squadrons, one for each town. Each squadron had its own commander, and in its respective town watched and kept guard in empty barns. Small parties were also, during the night, sent out to look about and get intelligence. In the morning, when the people returned to the meeting, the horsemen accompanied them, and all the three parties met together a mile from the place of worship, and joining, marched to it in a full body. The congregation having all taken their places, the horsemen drew

around them as formerly. In all this, it is at once apparent that the people were actuated by the most peaceful intentions. They were not an infuriated mob bent on raising civil commotion under some real or imaginary wrong, or for the attainment of some real or imaginary good, but a devout people who sought, what something implanted in their breasts by the divine hand told them they had a right to, the liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of his word. To secure this was the sole reason why some of them were armed. There was no hostile purpose against the government; no design to harm any one, provided their worship was not interfered with; the object simply was, to protect the meeting from hostile invasion. Accordingly, their feelings, so far from being roused to irritation, or being apparently even disturbed, were serious and solemnised by the sacred work in which they were engaged. "I confess," says Blackadder, "this new providential party of volunteers, were more formidable from the spiritual majesty shining in the work, and their devout, grave, composed countenances, than from any outward ability, warlike provisions, or fierce looks."

That all things might be done decently and in order, tokens of admission to the tables were distributed on Saturday, and they were given only to such as were known to ministers or persons of trust present, to be free of known public scandals. The Sabbath morning rose calm and peaceful, and, throughout the day, the sky over their heads was serene and unclouded, in delightful harmony with that tranquillising, joyful, and holy service in which they were to engage; and exercising a cheering influence over the animal spirits and the Christian emotions. Mr Welsh preached the

action sermon, a duty ordinarily assigned him on such occasions. His text was Cant. ii. 10, "My beloved spake and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away, for lo the winter is past ; the rain is over and gone ; the flowers appear on the earth ; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land." In his discourse from this beautiful passage, he made a free and full offer of Christ to sinners, and addressed many sweet and endearing words to secure believers, to awaken and encourage them to follow Christ. He also served the two first tables. The other four ministers, Mr Blackadder, Mr Riddell, Mr Dickson, and Mr Rae, exhorted in their turn the communicants at the other tables. The tables were served by some gentlemen and other individuals eminent for their piety. The ministers were remarkably assisted, and the whole scene was peculiarly interesting and solemnising. It was, indeed, a day of rejoicing, for the presence of the Lord Jesus, whose death was commemorated, was sensibly experienced, conveying the pardoning, peace-speaking, purifying, and comforting influence of his blood to his people, and the glow of gladness which warmed the hearts of ministers and people was evident from the joy which lighted up their countenances. All seemed to feel like Jacob, who, on awakening out of his sleep, in which he had seen the visions of God as he lay on the cold earth with the stone for his pillow, and the canopy of heaven for his covering, said, "Surely the Lord is in this place ; this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven ;" or like the disciples, who, when on the Mount of Transfiguration with Christ, exclaimed, "It is good for us to be here." When the solemn work of communicating was

over, Welsh offered up a fervent prayer and thanksgiving, and then the vast congregation united in a song of praise, "glorifying and praising God for all the things they had heard and seen." Blackadder particularly mentions the solemnity and joy with which the people joined in this concluding exercise ; and those who have been present on the serene evening of a communion Sabbath at tent sermons, which once prevailed in Scotland, and are still fresh in the memory of many, though now out of use, and who have heard the deep and thrilling harmony with which the assembled multitude sung the last psalm, may form some idea of the heart-thrilling melody of these earnest worshippers of persecuting times, poured forth from the depth of gladdened and grateful hearts, to Him who had spread a table before them in the presence of their enemies, and made that day to their souls one of the days of heaven.

There were two long tables, and a shorter one across the head, with seats on each side. At every table there were supposed to sit about a hundred persons. There were sixteen tables in all, so that about three thousand two hundred communicated that day.

After a short interval, Dickson preached in the afternoon from Gen. xxii. 14, "And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah Jireh, as it is said to this day, In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen." In this sermon he spoke with more than ordinary liberty, dwelling on the perplexing circumstances into which believers may be brought on their way to heaven, when they often may not know what shall be the issue, but with respect to which it becomes them to believe, as Abraham did, that in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen, till they come to the land of vision. He

called upon them, in particular, to consider that they had now found in their experience a signal proof of the truth of the text, for they had come there in much uncertainty and with many perplexing thoughts, as to what would be the event, but still in some degree looking to the Lord, and encouraging themselves in the hope that on the mount of the Lord it should be seen; and their expectations had not been disappointed. On the Monday, Dickson preached first, then Mr Riddell, and lastly, Mr Blackadder closed the work of these three days with a sermon on Isa. liii. 10, especially the latter part of the verse, "And the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand."

Instead of making any reflections of our own on this deeply interesting and impressive scene, we shall quote those made upon it by Blackadder, who was engaged in its solemn services:—"Though the people at first meeting," says he, "were something apprehensive of hazard, yet from the time the work was entered upon till the close of it, they were neither alarmed nor affrighted, but sat as composed, and the work was as orderly gone about, as if it had been in the days of the greatest peace and quiet; for there indeed was to be seen the goings of God, even the goings of their God and King in that sanctuary, which was encouraging to them, and terrible to his and their enemies out of his holy place. This ordinance of preaching and administration of his last Supper,—that love-token left for a memorial of him till his coming again, was so signally countenanced, backed with power and refreshing influences from heaven, that it might be said, 'Thou, O God, didst send out a plentiful rain, whereby thou didst confirm thine inheritance when it was weary.' The table of the Lord was covered accordingly in the open fields

in presence of the raging enemies. Many great days of the Son of Man have been seen in thee, O now how desolate Kirk of Scotland! ever since the last invasion of that monstrous Prelatic party, smiting shepherds, and scattering the flocks at first; but few the like of this, either before or after, at least this manner, as it was at East Nisbet on these days." "It was a time of much countenance and influence from the Lord on all his ordinances and instruments, from the beginning to the close of that remarkable work, with blessed effects on not a few, both far and near, which it is hoped remain to this day. James Learmont, before many thousands, in his last words on the scaffold, did confidently testify to the commendation of the glorious presence and powerful grace of Christ which he observed, and which he found on these days at East Nisbet. He was hanged (as many other martyrs) for being present at one of these meetings at Whitekirk in East Lothian, and for adhering to the preaching of the gospel, dispensed in purity and power, at these meetings called conventicles."*

The other communion at which Dickson assisted, was one celebrated in the summer of 1678 at Irongray in Dumfries-shire. The other ministers who officiated on that occasion were Mr John Welsh, Mr John Blackadder, Mr John Rae, and Mr Samuel Arnot, the ejected minister of Tongland. Mr Welsh had undertaken to keep this solemnity at the desire of several gentlemen and other well-affected persons in that part of the country,

* Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy. In the printed edition, (pp. 182-189,) Crichton has given an account of this sacramental observance. From the inverted commas he uses, one would suppose that he copies *verbatim* from Blackadder. But it is not so. He has wrought Blackadder's narrative, which is very simple, into a fine description.

“ who were resolute to countenance that solemn work as publicly and avowedly as they could on their peril.” On the three days of the solemnity they met at three different places, the more effectually to elude their persecutors, and a greater number assembled than at the communion at East Nisbet, there being present more gentlemen and strangers, both from the neighbourhood and from a distance. The meeting on Saturday was held at the cross of Meiklewood, a high place in Nithsdale, about seven miles above Dumfries. Here they had a commanding view of the surrounding country, and could not be taken by surprise. Mr Rae lectured, and then Mr Blackadder preached on these words, “This do in remembrance of me,” Luke xxii. 19 ; 1 Cor. xi. 24. Mr Welsh preached the second sermon, and intimated that the communion was to be observed on the morrow upon a hill-side on the moors of Irongray, about four or five miles distant from the spot where they were then assembled, but did not name the particular place, lest the enemy might get information of it beforehand ; but none were at any loss in finding it. The spot fixed upon was Skeoch-hill, the highest land on the moors of Irongray, about four or five miles above Dumfries. The hill commands a very picturesque and extensive view, and the part of it selected for the commemoration of the Saviour’s death, was as well adapted for the occasion as any that could well be conceived. It “ lies in a small valley on the bosom of the hill, secured on all hands from observation or intrusion, while the sentinels could be so posted, almost within hearing of the sermon, as to command the surrounding country on every side for many miles.” Here, on the Sabbath morning, the vast multitude assembled. Mr Welsh preached the action sermon. The other ministers ad-

dressed the communicants at the several tables. There were two long tables,* longer than those at East Nisbet, and the communicants were more numerous than on that occasion. After the solemn work of communicating was over, Dickson preached in the afternoon, and the services of the Sabbath were brought to a close without disturbance. The day was gloomy, and the clouds, lowering and charged with moisture, often threatened to rain, but it continued fair till the conclusion. Before, however, the people had reached their homes, there fell a heavy rain which swelled the waters, occasioning a degree of inconvenience and discomfort to them, for the greater number had to cross the Cairn and the Cluden.

The Earl of Nithsdale, a Papist, and Sir John Dalziel, a great enemy to these meetings, had some of their domestics there, who were suspected to have come from no good design, and who waited on and heard till about the time of the afternoon's sermon, when they slipped away. At the dismissing of the people there arose an alarm, from an apprehension, produced from some cause or other, that a party of soldiers was approaching.

* The sacramental tables, constructed for this solemnity, still remain on the moor of Irongray, having suffered no dilapidation or derangement in the lapse of so many years, and are called by the people, who speak of them with no small reverence, "the communion stones." "They consist of four rows of flat irregular blocks of stone, disposed in straight lines, and forming two equal parallelograms, resembling long tables, with a space between for the accommodation of the elders. Each row contains about thirty seats, so that a hundred and twenty people might communicate at the same time. At one end there is a circular pile of stones, about four feet in height, whereon the sacred elements were laid and where the minister must have stood in dispensing the ordinance and exhorting the people. In front of this, and close behind the opposite end of the table, rises a smooth green brae, answering well the purposes of a gallery, as it is quite within the compass of a moderate voice." Crichton's *Memoirs of Mr John Blackadder*, p. 198.

Upon this, those gentlemen and horse who came from Clydesdale drew instantly together. The gentlemen and people of Galloway and Nithsdale, seeing the Clydesdale men so quickly putting themselves in a posture of defence, followed their example. Gordon of Earlston, brought together a large troop of Galloway horse; and another gentleman drew out a troop of Nithsdale horse. Several companies of foot were also drawn out of the meeting with their officers. All this was done in a very short time; for those who had arms were prompt to confront danger, and protect the helpless multitude assembled for so good a work. Parties and single horsemen were sent out in several directions to look about them, while others of the people were putting themselves in a defensive attitude. Those who went forth, on returning reported that they only heard a rumour of some party being come into the country, but could get no information of any being at hand, or of any stir among such as were hostile to them in the neighbourhood, so that after staying about two hours on the place, the people separated; the different companies of horse and foot dividing themselves, and taking up their quarters respectively as near to one another as they conveniently could, in the bounds where the mass of the people were quartered, which was within little more than a mile and a half or thereby. Within these small bounds all were well accommodated with lodgings in houses, barns, or otherwise, and with food for themselves and their horses. What made this the more remarkable was, that it was on the moors of Irongray, where there were few houses; but the people had cheerfully and largely provided for the meeting beforehand. The night was very rainy, yet parties were sent forth in several directions, and watches kept.

As a point of prudence, no intimation had been made on Sabbath evening where the meeting was to be held on Monday, and the place was known only to the ministers and a few others. But this occasioned no inconvenience. On the morning, the tent was set up on a hill-side in the head of Irongray parish, about three or four miles distant from the spot of the Sabbath meeting, and information of the place being rapidly circulated among the people, they all resorted thither from their respective quarters, forming a very large assembly,—far greater than could have been anticipated after the alarm of the preceding evening. The armed horse and foot, who the night before had put themselves in a posture of defence, drew up as a guard around the audience, the foot being nearest it, and the horse on the outside. Dickson preached first, and Mr John Blackadder followed with a discourse on Heb. xiii. 1, “Let brotherly love continue.” This meeting also met with no disturbance. “The whole work,” says Blackadder, “from the beginning on Saturday till the close on Monday, about one in the afternoon, was much countenanced, and the people much refreshed in their spirits, notwithstanding of all the occasion their poor bodies had to be wearied, through sore travail, watchings, alarms, other straitenings and disaccommodations, which could not be shunned among such a multitude keeping so closely together among moors and mountains ; yet it was thought by several that this occasion was short of that remarkable and singular shining influence that appeared at East Nisbet.”*

It is highly encouraging to the Christian minister when multitudes are drawn to wait on his ministry,

* Blackadder's *Memoirs* MS. copy; and Crichton's printed edition, pp. 195–202.

and still more so when it is blessed by the Holy Spirit for bringing many to the saving knowledge of the truth. This encouragement Dickson had, when, shaking himself loose from the shackles imposed by royal indulgences, he went forth free and unfettered to proclaim to his countrymen the unsearchable riches of Christ. He and his fellow-labourers were eagerly followed and listened to by thousands, and what was more important still, the happiest effects resulted from their efforts in the reformation of the people, and in the genuine conversion of many, some of whom had been violent enemies to the Presbyterians, and actively engaged in persecuting them. They had thus reason to make the same grateful acknowledgment with Paul, "Now thanks be unto God who always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place." In a letter to Mr Robert M'Ward, dated October 4. 1678, Dickson communicates some important information respecting the success which attended the ministry of himself and his brethren in the fields, and the powerful inducements which they thus had to persevere in preaching in that public manner. The part of the letter which refers to this subject, we intended to have inserted in the Appendix, but are prevented from want of room.*

About this time much dissension unhappily prevailed among the Presbyterians on account of the indulgence. Into this controversy, Dickson, taking the side in opposition to that ensnaring favour, entered with great zeal, and condemned both the thing itself, which he calls "the west country destroying sin," and the ministers who accepted it, in no feeble or mea-

* See Wodrow MSS. vol. lix. folio, no. 89.

sured terms; for he was accustomed to express himself strongly when treating on any of the controversies of his day. He did not, indeed, as some others afterwards came to do, persuade the people to withdraw from the ministry of the indulged ministers, nor did he even make the indulgence a subject of discussion in his sermons, believing that "to interline his preaching" with matter of that description "tended to small edification;" and he affirms that "it was but at very rare times, in some places, upon some occurring emergents, and among some people, that his freedom ran in the channel" of condemning it, because he judged that "discretion and prudence, at that time of abounding offences, should guard our zeal towards moderation and tenderness, yet so as that our zeal towards the preservation of the decaying interests of Christ, be not altogether extinguished." But in his intercourse with some of the people at least, and in his epistolary correspondence with them, besides condemning the indulgence in severe terms, he spoke in a style of acrimony and invective against the indulged ministers, very much calculated to prejudice the people against them, and indirectly to produce separation from their ministry. In his correspondence with Mr Robert M'Ward and Mr John Brown, two eminent Scottish ministers, who had been banished for their Presbyterian principles, he writes in a similar strain, and his letters to them had no small influence in increasing the divisions which the indulgence occasioned. These letters, several of which are still preserved among the Wodrow MSS., were not the best calculated to convey to these ministers a correct idea of the state of matters between the indulged and the non-indulged. Dickson's integrity of purpose there is no reason to question; but under the influence of the prejudice engendered by

theological controversy, which often leads men, especially when their minds have been chafed by the misrepresentation and reproach of their opponents, as was the case with him, unconsciously to set things in such a light as will favour their own party and tell against the other party, he gives a too flattering account of the temper and spirit of the people opposed to the indulgence ; while he lays hold on every thing which tended to lower the indulged in the estimation of his correspondents. For example, he frequently communicates to them, as a specimen of the whole body, the floating reports which he had heard of what some of the indulged ministers had said from the pulpit, and which, in passing from mouth to mouth, were, it is probable, not a little exaggerated. " Here," says he, after telling his story, " is a small gist of the spirit reigning among the company ;" as if, granting the reports to have been true, the whole body were to be judged by the imprudent statements of a few among them. Adopting the views, and proceeding in a great measure upon the information of Dickson, these two ministers, who had great influence on many of the Presbyterians in Scotland, were led, in their letters to them, to speak of the indulgence and the indulged ministers, in a style which tended to create disrespect towards the latter, and to lead to separation from them. M'Ward did not, indeed, advise the people to withdraw from their ministry. Such, however, was the tendency of the strong condemnatory statements he employed for some time, but which he ultimately moderated on perceiving the extremes to which the party opposed to the indulgence went. Brown, however, proceeded the whole length. Writing to Dickson, October 7. 1678, he commences thus, " Right Reverend and dear

brother, If Providence had so ordered that our correspondence had begun before now, I had not been such a stranger unto the true state of matters with you in that land now met out and trodden under foot ;” and then he goes on to speak of the “ iniquity which lies wrapt up in hearing and countenancing these indulged persons.” He wrote a letter to Mr Richard Cameron of the same date, containing similar sentiments.* At these two letters, no small offence was taken in Scotland, not only by the indulged, but by the more moderate of the non-indulged, who held that a wide difference should be made betwixt dissatisfaction with the indulgence, and separating from the ministry of such as had embraced it.

After the defeat of the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, Dickson, it appears, desisted from preaching in the fields. The government being much exasperated by that insurrection, subsequently carried on the persecution with more unrelenting fury. Not only were new laws made of a more barbarous kind than those formerly enacted, and not only were those laws very extensively executed, but the bloodthirsty executioners not being, in many instances, at the trouble to keep by their own laws, capriciously harassed and murdered the people on the public roads, in the open fields, and almost every where upon the south of Tay. The danger of meeting in the fields being thus so great, Dickson, and all who had formerly preached in that public manner, with the exception of Mr John Blackadder, confined their ministry to private houses. Mr Richard Cameron, in a letter to Mr Robert M’Ward, dated Edinburgh, 30th October 1679, after his return to Scotland, says, in reference to this, “ When I came the length of Tinto, in

* Wodrow MSS., vol. lix., folio, no. 90.

Clydesdale, there I was called to preach in the fields, but being told that Mr Dickson had been there about twenty days before that, and had refused to go to the fields, I first sent to Edinburgh to know if he was in it, and to consult with him and others anent my coming into the town, or their appointing some other place for my waiting on them. The answer was, that I should come into the town. When I came, I consulted Mr Hog and Mr Dickson about going to the fields. I find them both against it; their reasons are taken from hazard, especially from the Duke of York's coming here and giving him an opportunity, forthwith, to fall on. This is the greatest strait and sharpest trial I ever yet met with, for their arguments do not satisfy my conscience."*

In 1680 Dickson was apprehended and brought in prisoner to Edinburgh. On appearing before the Council, he was sentenced to be imprisoned in the Bass; and there he continued a prisoner for the space of about six years. The act of Council is as follows:—

“ 1st September 1680.

“ The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council do hereby recommend to General Dalziel, lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces, to cause immediately transport, by such a party of horse or foot as he shall think fit, the person of Mr John Dickson, prisoner, from the tolbooth of Edinburgh to the Isle of Bass, and ordain the Magistrates of Edinburgh to deliver the said prisoner to the said party, and the governor of the said isle to receive and detain him prisoner therein till further order.”†

During the time of his confinement in the Bass, Dickson wrote two letters to some of his friends, which ex-

* Wodrow MSS., vol. lix., folio, no. 124.

† Decrees of Privy Council.

hibit both the peculiar character of his mind, and his style of writing. In them he laments the hardships of the times, and the defection “of many grave, godly, and learned persons” in the ministry, who had accepted the indulgence, gives many important and appropriate practical counsels, and expresses his own feelings, comforts, and exercise, under his sufferings. One of them he begins thus:—“My Dear Friends,—I received a letter from you, with your token of kindness in it, about the middle of winter, which to me in that solitude was refreshing, in consideration of your and other friends’ sympathy at so great a distance under so great distress, few friends pitying when one is singled out among many to endure hardships as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, only for the word of God and testimony of Jesus. Here I am among strangers, and yet the Lord wonderfully makes them my friends, when I am so far separated from sympathising friends and acquaintances, and especially from my dear family, whose access to me is with invincible difficulties,—who, in outward things upon earth, are to me the greatest consolation, for in their encouragement my joy and pleasure outwardly in this world lies, and whoever are kindest to them are to me my greatest friends,—suppose I should vanish in earthly misery,—seeing Providence has ordered it, that they are embarked in the same bottom of tribulation and affliction with me.” But in his imprisonment he was not without religious comfort. “Oh, dear friends,” says he, “if ye knew what of the floods of tenderness I have met with,—what of the removing of the black clouds that separated betwixt my precious Lord and me,—what liberty in confession,—what of a shining light breaking in upon my heart brighter than the sun at the noontide of the day,—what of the smiles of his countenance, not

veiled with frowns and vengeance, but intimating and sealing peace unto the conscience,—what of the overflowing streams of joy,—what of the swelling of hopes !” Nor did he despair of the Church in Scotland, dark and trying as were her circumstances at that time. “There is a seed sown through the mountains and the moors of Scotland, which shall have a plentiful crop, for the Master of the vineyard was undoubtedly at the sowing of it, and he must see to the gathering in of his fruits. Let the great dragon spew out a Lammas flood of waters, which is like to drown all ; yet the harvest will come, and the man-child must rule and overcome.” Yea, he even saw connected with the sufferings of the Church of Scotland, in behalf of Christ’s crown or his supremacy over the Church, the blessed period when that crown should shine resplendent in all the earth. “O Britain ! blessed of all places of God’s earth in fruits, which shall spring from the seed after the gospel seed has been sown. The corn-fields of the Church of Christ in Britain have gotten seed upon seed, double seed. What must the increase be ? O happy harvest ! O blessed reapers ! in that day when the crown shall flourish on his head, which, budding through martyrs’ blood, shall blossom and fill the earth with joy.” *

On the 8th of October 1686, orders were issued by the Council for bringing to the tolbooth of Edinburgh the ministers who were imprisoned in the Bass, and in Blackness,* and they were offered their liberty, pro-

* The act is as follows :—“Edinburgh, 8th October 1686.—The Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council do hereby grant order and warrant to Colonel Graham of Claverhouse, commander-in-chief now upon the place, to cause bring in prisoners to the tolbooth of Edinburgh by a sufficient guard, the ministers that are present prisoners either in the garrisons of the Isle of Bass or Castle of Blackness, the deputy-governors whereof are

vided they agreed to live orderly, in other words, to abstain from preaching, and to attend their parish churches. Dickson, when brought before the Council at this time, readily acknowledged King James VII. as his lawful sovereign, for he did not go the length of the Cameronians, who renounced the authority of Charles II. and James VII.; but he refused without hesitation to come under an engagement not to keep conventicles, as well as waived declaring the unlawfulness of rising in arms against the king and his authority in any circumstances. For not satisfying them on these points, he was sent back to the Bass by the Committee of Council for Public Affairs, by the following act, dated 12th October 1686:—

“ Mr John Dickson, brought prisoner from the Bass, declares, that about six years ago he was taken for being present at conventicles; confesses he has kept conventicles several times; acknowledges the King’s authority, but will not engage to live regularly and orderly, and not to keep conventicles; and shuns to give answer as to declaring the unlawfulness to rise in arms against the King or his authority: Ordered that the said Mr John Dickson and Mr Alexander Shields, brought prisoners from the Bass, be returned back prisoners thither until further order.”*

After the passing of this sentence, Dickson, being now in a very infirm state of health in consequence of his long imprisonment and his advanced years, presented a petition to the Council, humbly shewing that being six years ago committed prisoner to the Bass, by order of the Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council, he did submit to that sentence with all humility, and

hereby ordered to deliver them to the party to be sent for them, and the magistrates of Edinburgh are to receive and detain them prisoners till further order.”—Warrants of Privy Council.

* Sederunts and Journals of Committee of Council for Public Affairs in Warrants of Privy Council.

hath ever since remained 'patiently there, and that he is an old man, and by his long imprisonment hath contracted several diseases in his body, and therefore praying, that as that was the time and season of the year for using the ordinary means of medicine for his recovery, their Lordships would be pleased to grant him such competent time as they should think fit, to take medicine at his own house in Edinburgh, upon his finding sufficient caution to present himself when called for. In answer to this petition, the Lords of the Committee for Public Affairs, on the 13th of October, "allow the petitioner to stay in Edinburgh till the first council-day of November next, in regard of his valetudinary condition, he finding caution to appear before the Council that day, or to re-enter the tolbooth of Edinburgh the said day, under the penalty of 5000 merks."*

We meet with no farther account of Dickson in the Records of the Privy Council. The probability is, that he did not again return to the Bass, but was allowed to remain at liberty upon giving bond to appear before the Council when called.

After the Revolution, he again became minister of his old parish, Rutherglen, where he continued to his death to discharge the duties of his sacred function. But although he joined the Revolution Church, he was far from being satisfied either with its constitution or with many of its proceedings. He hailed the Revolution as "a wonderful deliverance from the slavery of a heaven-daring enemy," but lamented that, in the legal settlement of the Church, her constitution was not modelled according to the pattern of the second reformation, which he believed to be in a high degree conform-

* Warrants of Privy Council.

able to the word of God ; and he was convinced that by abandoning that position much ground had been lost by the Church, and that a foundation was laid for the introduction of the most serious evils. “ It is many years,” he says in a letter to a friend shortly before his death, “ since the sun fell low upon Scotland ; many a dismal day hath it seen since 1649. At that time our reformation mounted towards its highest horizon ; and since we left building on that excellent foundation, laid by our honoured forefathers, we have still moved from ill to worse, and are like to do so still more, (unless our gracious God prevent it,) until we slide ourselves out of sight and sense of a reformation.”* It is hardly necessary to say how woefully these apprehensions were verified by the long reign of moderatism, which proved so deadly a curse to the religion of our land during the 18th century ; a reign to which the defects of the revolution settlement of the Church, and the impolicy of her proceedings at that period, contributed perhaps more than even the restoration of lay patronage in the reign of Queen Anne, to which it has been chiefly if not solely attributed. At the sitting down of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr on the 4th of October 1698, Dickson preached as Moderator an opening sermon, which was afterwards printed, from Isaiah lxii. 6, “ I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem,” &c., in which he discourses with much freedom and faithfulness on the duties and qualifications of a faithful watchman. He died in the year 1700, at an advanced age, having been engaged in the work of the Christian ministry forty-three or forty-four years, and having seen many changes both in the civil and ecclesiastical state of his country.

* Scots Worthies, edition, Leith, 1816, p. 496.

JOHN BLACKADDER.

JOHN BLACKADDER was the lineal descendant and representative of the ancient and honourable family of Tulliallan, and late in life inherited the title of knight baronet, which, however, he never assumed. His grandfather Adam Blackadder of Blairhall having married Helen, daughter of the celebrated Robert Pont, minister of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and one of the Lords of Session, left behind him, as the only surviving fruit of that marriage, John, the father of the subject of this sketch, who married in 1615 Barbara daughter of Mr William Strang, minister first at Kirkliston, then at Irvine, and afterwards Principal of the University of Glasgow. Of this marriage John was the eldest, and was born in December that same year. The place of his birth is uncertain, and of his early history little is known. He studied at Glasgow, under his uncle Principal Strang, and it is probable that his theological as well as his literary studies were conducted under the superintendence of that divine, who filled the chair of Professor of Divinity until 1640, when it was disconnected from the principalship by the General Assembly, and erected into a separate professorship.

Blackadder, having passed his trials with the appro-

bation of the Church, and been licensed as a probationer for the Christian ministry, received a unanimous call from the parish of Traquair, in the Presbytery of Dumfries, in the year 1652. Previous to this, in 1646, he married the daughter of Mr Homer Haning, a rich merchant in Dumfries. On June 7. 1653, he was solemnly ordained to the ministerial office in that parish by the Presbytery, and received from the parishioners a cordial welcome. Here he continued to discharge without interruption, and with considerable success, his useful labours, until November 1662, when, by the act of Council at Glasgow, he was compelled to abandon his post for his conscientious adherence to Presbyterian principles. On the last Sabbath of October he preached his farewell sermon, in which, among other things, he took up the question, Whether Presbyterians ought to hear the curates who should be intruded into the charges of the ejected ministers? and without attempting to determine the absolute unlawfulness of hearing these intruders, argued that it was inexpedient in the present circumstances of the Church to do so, and advised the people to forbear. "That day few of the people of the parish convened, by which he perceived that they were not willing to cleave to his ministry upon hazard. He therefore preached that day at his own house, where many from the neighbouring parishes resorted to hear him after he had begun; so that he stood on the stair head, two chambers on either hand with the lower room being full."*

On leaving Traquair, he removed with his family to the parish of Glencairn, about ten miles distant, and there he resided for some time. During the first three months of the year in which he came to that parish, he

* Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy.

did not preach publicly, though he did so privately in his own house, to many of the neighbours who assembled. But after that he preached publicly at his own house, sometimes twice, sometimes thrice on the Sabbath, to great multitudes who flocked to hear him, not only from that parish, which was the largest in that part of the country, but out of eight or nine surrounding parishes in Nithsdale and Galloway. He remarks that his labours were more abundantly blessed in that quarter than they had been at Traquair, both in promoting the outward reformation of the people, and in bringing them under the power of personal religion.

On the 25th of January 1666, letters of Council were directed against Blackadder, and a considerable number of ministers in the south, for presuming to preach, pray, baptize, and perform other acts of the ministerial function, strictly commanding the authorities to charge the persons complained upon at the market-cross of Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, and Edinburgh, and at the pier of Leith, to compear personally before the Lords of the Privy Council at Edinburgh, under the pain of rebellion. The charge brought against Blackadder in these letters is, that he "had oftentimes convened great numbers of the parish of Glencairn, and the neighbouring parishes, sometimes to the number of a thousand and upwards, and continues so to do every Lord's day; at which meetings he frequently baptizes the children of disaffected persons."* This citation Blackadder deemed it prudent not to obey, for the least he could expect from a government, which had already crowded the jails with his fellow Presbyterians, and doomed many of them to perpetual banishment, was imprisonment, if not worse treatment.

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 5, 6.

Immediately after this, he made preparations for removing his family from that part of the country to a place of greater security; and Edinburgh seemed to promise the privacy and concealment he desired, although even there oppression might discover and lay its hand upon him. He accordingly removed to the capital, where he afterwards continued chiefly to reside. He was, however, much employed in travelling from place to place, preaching in the fields both on the Sabbath and week-days, during the night as well as during the day; and vast multitudes, many of them from great distances, assembled to hear him. In this work he subjected himself to incredible fatigue; and perhaps, next to Mr John Welsh, was the most intrepid and persevering of all the ejected ministers, in spreading the gospel among his countrymen, "not counting his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." In his itinerancies, he exhibited the most disinterested spirit, uniformly declining to accept of money from the people, lest it might give occasion to the enemies of the cause in which he was embarked to reproach him as being impelled to preach from mercenary motives. In these journeys he also, on some occasions, assisted in the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. Two of these interesting solemnities, at which he assisted, have been already particularly described.*

Blackadder, and several other ministers, were summoned at the instance of the King's advocate to appear before the Privy Council, on the 11th of August 1670. They were charged with holding conventicles in houses

* See Notice of John Dickson, pp. 328-339.

and in the fields ; and not appearing, all of them were denounced and put to the horn.*

About the end of May 1680, Blackadder embarked for Holland, with his eldest son William, whom he intended to graduate as a physician at Leyden. They had contrary winds on their passage for eleven days, and the ship struck not less than eighteen times. When they came up the Maes to Rotterdam, it was about sunrise. After placing his son at Leyden, and visiting the Hague, Amsterdam, and some other cities, he returned to Rotterdam, where he remained for fifteen weeks preaching every Sabbath. Towards the end of September, he returned in a vessel belonging to Prestonpans, and arrived in Edinburgh on the same day that Mr John Dickson was sent to the Bass.

During his stay at Rotterdam, Blackadder appears to have been very useful in allaying the animosities which prevailed among his banished countrymen resident in that city, among whom he found that the same divisions had taken place in consequence of the indulgence, as existed in Scotland. He is said, in particular, to have been instrumental in bringing about a better understanding between Mr Robert M'Ward and Mr Robert Fleming, who had differed on that subject, the latter, though not actually indulged when in Scotland, not being able to see the indulgence in the same objectionable light as the former, who regarded it as "at best an interpretative, if not a direct subjection to the supremacy" of the crown in ecclesiastical matters ; and that such as accepted it "deserted that present necessary duty of practically asserting the freedom of the gospel ministry, and the independence thereof on the

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 153.

magistrate's power and pleasure."* Blackadder highly disapproved of the indulgence, and no sufferings or threatenings would have made him accept of it, being persuaded that "the embracing it from such hands, and as matters then stood, was prejudicial to their Master's royal right of supremacy over his own house, ordinances, and ambassadors." But, uniting discretion with his zeal, and calmness of temper with his firmness of purpose, he was disposed to exercise much forbearance towards those ministers who accepted it, and felt the greatest aversion to say or do any thing which tended to bring them into disrespect with the people. He entirely disapproved of making this a theme of discussion in sermons before the promiscuous multitude, being rather anxious to reason and deal in the spirit of meekness with the indulged ministers themselves on the evil of the indulgence; and though some of the people took offence at him that he did not insist on that painful subject in his public discourses, this had no effect in tempting him to swerve from acting in that matter according to his own convictions of duty, for he was as little inclined to yield up himself to the dictation of the people, as to the ecclesiastical supremacy of the monarch.

Blackadder's public labours was now near a close, and in his old age a long and dreary imprisonment awaited him, from which he was to be relieved only by the hand of death. He was apprehended early in the morning of April 5. 1681, when in bed in his own house

* Walker informs us, that these divisions among the banished sufferers at Rotterdam, on account of the indulgence, broke out in 1679, and that some of the sufferers not only refused to hear Mr Robert Fleming preach in the Scottish Church there, but separated even from Mr Robert M'Ward and others, who, though hostile to the indulgence, heard Fleming, not judging the difference between him and them respecting the indulgence, a sufficient ground of separation. *Biograph. Presb.*, vol. ii. pp. 60-61.

at Edinburgh by one Johnston, town-major, with a party of the city-guards. After being repeatedly examined by a Committee of the Council, he was on the following day, without being called before the Council, sentenced by them to be imprisoned in the Bass, and at six o'clock next morning was conveyed by a party of lifeguards to that place of confinement, at which he arrived about five o'clock in the afternoon. The cell in which he was imprisoned is still pointed out, with its three small iron-barred windows to the west.

Blackadder being now advanced in years, and with a constitution shattered by fatigue and labour in travelling from place to place preaching the gospel, was ill prepared for being immured in that unwholesome dungeon. After lying there for four years, during which he had suffered much,* his health became so seriously impaired under the attacks of a complication of diseases as to excite apprehensions for his life. This induced his friends in Edinburgh to present to the Council on the 20th of June 1685 a petition, accompanied with the attestation of physicians, representing that his life was in danger, and that his removal from the sea air was indispensable to his recovery, and therefore "craving liberty for him to be brought to Edinburgh, where he might have access to physicians and medicines, (he being dangerously sick of complicated disorders,) and to die with his wife and children." The humanity of the Council may be judged of from their answer to this petition, which was as follows:—

"Edinburgh, 19th November 1685.

"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council having considered a petition given in by Mr John Blackadder, prisoner

* See an account of the sufferings of the prisoners of the Bass generally, in pp. 113–116.

in the Bass, supplicating for liberty for some time in regard of his present indisposition tending to death, attested by a physician upon soul and conscience, do hereby grant order and warrant to the deputy-governor of the Isle of Bass, to allow the petitioner to be brought forth of the Bass to the prisons of Dunbar or Haddington upon his finding sufficient caution, within hours after he comes out of the Bass, to enter one of the said prisons and there to remain prisoner until the first council-day of January next, under the penalty of five thousand merks Scots money that he shall not escape in the mean time, and that at the first council-day of January ensuing, he shall re-enter his person prisoner in the Bass."

This grant being merely the exchange of one prison for another, which was in no respect preferable, but rather more inconvenient, Blackadder felt it to be a cruel mockery of his distress, and in a communication to his friends, requested them, if no more than this could be obtained, to desist from putting themselves to farther trouble in applying to the Council on the subject. "This day (Monday)," says he, "I received two letters from you, dated November 20, about the business of my liberty: That it is granted I should be transported to Dunbar or Haddington. When, with due deliberation and pains, I have considered all, particularly what you write, since I am not worse of my dysentery, though my rheumatism be returning; and finding what is granted is not the thing I sought, which was necessary for my case, viz., to be at Edinburgh where I might have access to physicians and medicines; but that I am exchanging one prison for another no better, but rather with more inconveniences, and the time being but short till I should return; and especially that I should find caution not to escape, (which I take to be while I am prisoner there) being what is

not a prisoner's part, but the magistrate's and keeper's, and would be a bad preparative to all prisoners ; neither have I ever heard the like required of a prisoner : I say, having weighed and laid all together, I am constrained rather to choose to take God's venture in staying where I am, whether I live or die, seeing I can have no liberty for relief in my present distressed condition, but what would put me rather in worse than better circumstances. Therefore, unless you can obtain either that I have liberty to be sick at my own house, where I may have my wife and children to wait upon me ; or at least, if no better can be, that you get the order for my imprisonment at Haddington reduced to confinement in a chamber upon caution to keep my confinement in the said town, no definite time being mentioned, but during the Council's pleasure, and to enter prison at the Bass when required, I being able to travel :—If this cannot be procured upon these or the like terms, you may desist from giving the Council, yourself, or other friends, any farther trouble about the matter." He adds, " I hope it will be needless that I repeat it again and again to you, that no order be extracted for me, but what you or other trusty friends see has no engagement on me or my cautioner, to lay any restraint upon my ministry or the exercise thereof, for that is absolutely out of my power, being only intrusted to follow my Lord and Master's call and pleasure therein, although I be in little case, or like to be, to discharge any of the duties thereof."

The strength of religious principle exhibited in this concluding sentence, cannot fail to excite admiration. Blackadder was in a condition altogether unable to preach, and he had little prospect of ever again being able to resume that work. But persuaded that it would

be unwarrantable for him to come under any engagement, at the bidding of the civil power, not to exercise his ministry, he strictly charged his friends in their dealings with the Privy Council, whatever might be the consequences as to himself,—though he should die in that dungeon, as he actually did,—not to bring him under any such engagement, which he believed would involve him in unfaithfulness to the Master whom he served. He had from the time of his ejection to that hour, and in the face of all the terrors of persecution, testified without faltering or blanching to the freedom of Christ's ambassadors,—who derive their ministerial authority from Christ and not from the civil magistrate,—to exercise their ministry uncontrolled by that usurping power which the government claimed of silencing them according to its pleasure ; and it was his purpose by God's grace to lift up the same unbroken testimony with his dying breath.

Application was again made to the Council by his friends for his being set at liberty, that in the bosom of his own family he might receive that attention which his situation required ; and it was again represented to them, that his distemper had so increased as to threaten within a short time a fatal termination. Yielding to this application, the Council pass the following act for his being liberated :—

“ Edinburgh, 3d December 1685.

“ The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council having heard and considered the petition of Mr John Blackadder, supplicating that in regard of his long imprisonment he hath contracted a universal rheumatism and bloody flux, and of his old age, he might be set at liberty forth of the Bass, do therefore hereby give order and warrant to the deputy-governor of the Isle of Bass to set the petitioner at liberty, he having found

sufficient caution acted in the Books of Privy Council, that within * hours after he shall be liberated, he shall enter and confine himself within the town of Edinburgh, and not depart forth thereof without special licence and order from the Council, and in the mean time to live regularly and orderly,† under the penalty of five thousand merks Scots money in case of failure ; and also to re-enter the said prison when required by the Council under the foresaid penalty.”

But this order was too late to be of any service to the prisoner. Before it could be carried into effect, death came, a messenger of peace to him ; and yielding up his pious spirit to God, this estimable man was placed for ever beyond the reach of persecution. He had then completed the seventieth year of his age ; and though he fell not by the hand of violence, he deserves to be honoured with a place among the most distinguished of our martyrs, for he displayed an intrepid adherence to principle which scarcely any of them surpassed, and the lengthened sufferings of his captivity may be said to be the infliction of a lingering death. His mortal remains were carried from the Bass, and interred in the churchyard of North Berwick, where a handsome tombstone still marks the spot where they repose. The inscription on his tombstone,‡ which is not without beauty, and which brings out the most prominent features of his character, is as follows :—

* Blank in MS.

† “ To live regularly and orderly” as has been repeatedly stated, was, in the language of the Privy Council, to abstain from preaching. Blackadder had forbidden his friends to come under such an obligation for him. Whether they had come under this engagement against his wishes, and without his knowledge, in order to obtain his liberty, or whether this is inserted in the act without any such express engagement having been made, cannot now be determined.

‡ This stone was repaired and re-lettered in July 1821, at the expense of several gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

" Blest John, for Jesus' sake, in Patmos bound,
 His prison Bethel, Patmos Pisgah found ;
 So the bless'd John, on yonder rock confined,—
 His body suffer'd, but no chains could bind
 His heaven-aspiring soul ; while day by day,
 As from Mount Pisgah's top, he did survey
 The promised land, and view'd the crown by faith
 Laid up for those who faithful are till death.
 Grace formed him in the Christian Hero's mould—
 Meek in his own concerns—in's Master's bold ;
 Passions to Reason chained, Prudence did lead—
 Zeal warm'd his breast, and Reason cool'd his head.
 Five years on the lone rock, yet sweet abode,
 He Enoch-like enjoyed, and walk'd with God ;
 Till, by long living on this heavenly food,
 His soul by love grew up too great, too good
 To be confined to jail, or flesh and blood.
 Death broke his fetters off, then swift he fled
 From sin and sorrow ; and by angels led,
 Enter'd the mansions of eternal joy ;—
 Blest soul, thy warfare's done, praise, love, enjoy.
 His dust here rests till Jesus come again,—
 Even so, blest Jesus, come,—come, Lord—Amen."

Blackadder had five sons and two daughters. 1. William, his eldest son, studied medicine, and graduated at Leyden in 1680. When in Holland he formed an acquaintance with some of the most eminent of the Scottish refugees, and was much in their confidence. Coming over with the Earl of Argyle in 1685, he was taken prisoner in Orkney. After the Revolution he was appointed physician to King William, and died without issue about the year 1704. 2. Adam, his second son, followed the mercantile profession. He was eight or nine years in Sweden, and, after his return, resided in Edinburgh. He was for some time imprisoned in Blackness for hearing his father preach. 3. Robert, his third son, studied theology at the University of Utrecht, and died in Holland in 1689. 4. Thomas, his fourth son, who appears to have been a merchant,

went abroad to New England shortly after his father's imprisonment, and died in Maryland. 5. John, his fifth and youngest son, entered the army, and became colonel of a Cameronian regiment, so called from the sect of which it was composed. He served with distinction under the Duke of Marlborough in Queen Anne's wars, nor was he less eminent as a devout Christian than as a brave soldier. His Memoirs have been published by Dr Crichton. Of Blackadder's two daughters, one died in Glencairn when a child. The other, Elizabeth, was married in 1687 to a Mr Young, writer in Edinburgh. Pious and intelligent, she kept a register or diary of the remarkable providences of her life for twenty-four years. She died in 1732.

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE OTHER PRISONERS.

OUR space will not admit of giving lengthened notices of the other prisoners confined in the Bass, although their history contains some very interesting facts. Leaving this to some other occasion, should such offer itself, we shall present the reader with little more than their names, and a few particulars relating to them.

ARCHIBALD RIDDELL was the son of Sir Walter, second baronet of Riddell, who had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him when but a young man ; and his mother was Janet, daughter of William Rigg of Athernie, in the county of Fife. He was the third son, his eldest brother being Sir John, who succeeded his father, and his second brother being Mr William, progenitor of the Riddells of Glen-Riddell, in Dumfries-shire.*

Riddell was privately ordained to the ministry at Kippen, in or subsequent to the year 1670. He became afterwards famous as a field preacher ; and was a fellow-labourer with Mr John Dickson and Mr John Blackadder, with whom he associated, as we have previously seen, in celebrating the Lord's Supper in the fields.† He was apprehended in September 1680, and was first sent to Jedburgh tolbooth, and thence carried

* Douglas' Baronage of Scotland, p. 67.

† See p. 328.

to Edinburgh prison. After lying there about nine months, during which time he was twice examined by a Committee of Council, he was, on the 9th of June 1681, sentenced by an act of Council to be carried prisoner to the Bass, "for breaking his confinement in Kippen, keeping conventicles, and marrying and baptizing in a disorderly manner."* In this prison he continued till about the close of the year 1684, when he was set at liberty in answer to a petition presented to the Council, on his behalf, by Mr George Scot of Pitlochie, upon condition of his removing to East New Jersey in America, in the ship freighted by Scot, to carry out the prisoners gifted to him for his intended plantation there, and never returning again to this kingdom without the special permission of the Council. The act of Council is as follows:—

"Edinburgh, 24th December 1684.

"The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council having considered a petition presented by Mr George Scot of Pitlochie, desiring that, in regard the Council have granted him the benefit of some persons lately sentenced to the plantations, in order to their being transported thither, and that he is willing to transport Mr Archibald Riddell, prisoner in the Bass, liberty might be granted to him for some time to put his affairs in order, and attend several processès now depending both for and against him before the Session, upon the petitioner's being cautioner for him, that he shall immediately after his liberty, come to his own lodgings in Edinburgh, and confine himself there during his abode here, and, in the mean time, keep no conventicles; and be by him transported to East Jersey in America, and never return to this kingdom thereafter, without special licence from the Council: The said Lords do grant the said desire, and recommend to the Lord High Chancellor, governor of the said Isle of Bass, to give order and warrant

* Decrees of Privy Council.

to his deputy-governor of that isle, to deliver to the petitioner, or his order, the person of the said Mr Archibald Riddell, in regard the petitioner hath become caution to the effect foresaid, under the penalty of five thousand merks Scots money, in case of failure in any of the premises."

This voyage, as we have formerly seen, was very disastrous, a malignant fever having broke out in the vessel, and raged with fearful mortality.* By this epidemic, Riddell was deprived of his wife. On arriving at New Jersey, he received invitations from two congregations to become their minister, one from Long Island and another from Woodbridge. He preferred the call from the latter place, where he continued to labour till the Revolution, when he returned to his native country.

He set sail for home in June 1689, and the wind and weather, during the voyage, were highly favourable ;† but on reaching the coast of England, in the beginning of August, he and his son were captured by a French man-of-war, and carried prisoners to France, where they were cruelly treated and kept for a considerable time. They were at length released by the French government, through the interference of King William's government, which gave in exchange for them two French priests who were then prisoners in Blackness. After his return to Scotland, Riddell was admitted minister of Wemyss on the 28th of September 1691, whence he was removed to Kirkcaldy on the 20th

* See pp. 166-172.

† In a note in Dr M'Crie's *Life of Veitch and Brysson, &c.*, Appendix, p. 523, it is stated that "on his passage home in 1689, Riddell's wife and three of her relations died." This is a mistake. It was when he was going out to East New Jersey, in 1685, that his wife and these relations died, having been cut off by the malignant fever which proved fatal to so many on board the vessel.

of May 1697 ; and, lastly, translated to Edinburgh in 1702. He died in 1708.

JOHN SPREUL, apothecary in Glasgow, appears upon the stage as a sufferer chiefly after the battle of Bothwell Bridge. On the 12th of November 1680, he was apprehended, and being brought before the Council, was examined, and afterwards put to the torture before a Committee of their number. Not getting him to confess what they desired by torturing him in the new boot, they sent for the old one, and tortured him over again ; and being equally unsuccessful with it, Dalziel alleged that the hangman favoured him ; upon which the hangman said, he struck with all his might, and bade him take the mallet himself to do it better. On the 2d of March 1681, Spreul was indicted before the High Court of Justiciary on the charge of treason and rebellion, for alleged accession to the insurrection at Bothwell Bridge. The proof, however, failed, and a verdict of " Not proven " was returned by the jury. Upon this, instead of being liberated, as he ought to have been, he was still kept prisoner ; and, on pretext of being present at field conventicles, he was fined £500 sterling, and sent to the Bass, by an act of Privy Council, July 14. 1681. Here he continued for nearly six years. The act of Council for his liberation is dated 12th* May 1687. He was the last prisoner who was released from the Bass. He survived the Revolution many years.

* At p. 15, it is by a mistake copied from Wodrow, the 13th.

WILLIAM LIN was a writer in Edinburgh. He was brought before the Council on the 14th of July 1681, charged with having been present at field conventicles, at which he had heard ministers who were declared traitors, and with having harboured, reset, and corresponded with them. In proof of this last charge, it is said, that "upon one of the rebels, when taken and examined, were found particular letters addressed to him." The several parts of the libel against him were referred to his oath; and on his refusing to depone thereupon, he was fined in the sum of £500 sterling, and appointed to be carried to and continue prisoner in the Bass, till he paid his fine, and longer should it be the Council's pleasure. How long he was imprisoned is uncertain, nor are any farther particulars of his history known.

MAJOR JOSEPH LEARMONT was proprietor of the lands of Newholm, which lay partly in the shire of Peebles and partly in that of Lanark. He was one of the officers in the Covenanters' army at Pentland Hills in 1666, and at Bothwell Bridge in 1679. In the year 1667 his whole fortune was forfeited for his being in the former insurrection; and for the space of sixteen years thereafter, notwithstanding all the efforts made to find him, he remained undiscovered. But about the month of February 1682, he was taken prisoner and carried to Edinburgh, where, on the 7th of April that same year, he was sentenced to be executed. This sentence, however, by the interest of friends, was commuted into perpetual imprisonment in the Bass, to which he was sent on the 13th of May. He there remained

close prisoner for five years, when, through the testimony of physicians that he was in a dying condition, he was liberated by the Council, upon giving bond that as soon as he recovered he would return to that place of confinement. But the Revolution taking place next year freed him from this obligation. He lived at his own house at Newholm some years after that memorable event, and died in peace in the 88th year of his age.

MICHAEL POTTER was licensed to preach the gospel in the year 1673. After this, the fury of the persecution drove him to Holland for shelter at two different times. He returned from his second retreat to that country in 1680, and was apprehended about November 1681 in his own house at Borrowstounness, whence he was carried to Blackness the first night, and the next day to the tolbooth of Edinburgh. There he continued a close prisoner till early in the year 1683, when by the orders of the Council he was carried to the Bass for keeping conventicles, for disorderly ordination, and for refusing to engage to live orderly in future. In this dungeon he continued till March or April 1685, at which time he was liberated on condition of his leaving the kingdom, but remaining quiet at home, the liberty granted by King James VII., relieved him from the necessity of obeying the sentence. After the Revolution, he was first minister of Borrowstounness, and then of Dunblane, where he died. He had a son, Michael, who was first minister at Kippen, and afterwards in 1740 succeeded Mr John Simson as Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, but did not long fill that chair, having died in November 1743.

JOHN SPREUL, town-clerk of Glasgow, was born about the year 1615, and was educated at the University of Glasgow, where after passing through the usual literary and philosophical classes, he took his degree of master of arts in 1635. In 1660 he was imprisoned in Edinburgh for refusing to subscribe the bond containing a condemnation of the Western Remonstrance ; but at length having been induced to subscribe it, he was set at liberty. Being afterwards banished out of Scotland for nonconformity, he lurked some years at Berwick and Newcastle and then went over to Holland, where he remained for several years. On his return to Scotland, as he was then advanced in years and infirm in body, he hoped liberty would be allowed him to remain at home in peace. But in this he was mistaken. The government, instigated by the bishops, caused him to be brought prisoner from his own house to the tolbooth of Edinburgh ; and refusing to come under obligation to go and hear the curates, &c., he was sent to the Bass by an act of the Privy Council, dated 28th July 1683,* where he lay for some years. On petitioning the Council to compassionate his old age and frailty, an order was issued for his being liberated, and within a year or two after he died in his own house.

ALEXANDER GORDON of Earlston was the son of William Gordon of Earlston, the correspondent of Rutherford. He was in the army of the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, and narrowly escaped being taken by the ingenuity of one of his tenants, who recognising him as he rode through Hamilton, made him dismount, hid

* See p. 251.

his horse's furniture in a dunghill, dressed him in women's clothes, and set him to rock the cradle. On the 19th of February 1680, being found guilty of treason and rebellion by a jury in his absence, he was condemned to be beheaded at the market-cross of Edinburgh when he should be apprehended. He did not, however, fall into the hands of the government till the beginning of June 1683, when he was arrested just as he had gone on board a vessel at Newcastle for Holland, whether he had been commissioned by the United Societies a second time—for he had been there before on the same errand—to represent to the Reformed Churches abroad, the true condition of these people and their principles. Being brought before the Lords of Justiciary, his former sentence of death was ordered to be carried into effect on the 28th of September ensuing. But by the influence of his friend the Duke of Gordon his life was spared. He was, however, kept a prisoner; and on the 8th of August 1684 was conducted to the Bass, where, however, he remained only about a fortnight, having been sent for by the Privy Council, on the 22d of that month, to be tortured.* He was afterwards transported to Blackness, where he continued imprisoned till the 5th of January 1689, when he was liberated.

JOHN RAE at the Restoration was minister of a parish in the Presbytery of Biggar, but was ejected from it upon the establishment of Prelacy. He was after this among the most zealous of the ejected ministers in preaching both in private houses and in the fields.†

* Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. pp. 549, 553.

† See pp. 329, 332, 335, 336.

About the beginning of the year 1670, he was apprehended for preaching and baptizing in houses and sent to Edinburgh. He lay successively in the Canongate jail, in Stirling Castle, and Dumbarton Castle, till about the time of the granting of the second indulgence in September 1672, when he was liberated. By this indulgence, he was allowed to exercise his ministry within the parish of Cumbrays. But he declined to accept of this ensnaring boon, and associated with Mr John Welsh and others in preaching in the fields. In July 1674, he was publicly denounced a rebel and put to the horn ; and in August 1676, letters of intercommuning were issued against him. On the 15th of February 1683 he was apprehended in Edinburgh, and on the 15th of September next year, the Council ordered him to be sent to the Bass, where, like Mr John Blackadder, he lay till released by the hand of death. His mortal remains were carried from his prison and interred in the churchyard of North Berwick.

SIR HUGH CAMPBELL of Cesnock was descended from the ancient and honourable family of the Campbells of Loudon. After the Restoration, his well-known attachment to Presbyterian principles, and his having a large estate, marked him out as a victim of persecution. In addition to his previous sufferings by fines and imprisonment, he was, in March 1684, tried for high treason, on pretext of accession to the rising at Bothwell Bridge in 1679 ; but there being no evidence, the jury returned a verdict of " Not proven." Instead, however, of being liberated after this verdict, he and his son George, who also had been previously in con-

finement, were kept prisoners, and on the 15th of September were ordered by the Council to be transported to the Bass. In the following year they were both tried before the Parliament of Scotland for alleged accession to the Rye-house Plot, and although the proof failed, the Parliament brought them in guilty. Their lives were spared, but an act of attainder was passed, by which their estates were forfeited, and annexed to the crown; and they themselves were, by an order from the king, sent to the Bass, towards the close of the year 1685. Sir Hugh did not long survive this cruel treatment, having died on the 20th of September 1686, at Edinburgh, whither he had been allowed to come on account of his infirmities.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL of Cesnock was the eldest son of the preceding. He was knighted in his father's lifetime; and on his marriage, in 1665, to Anna M'Mouran, heiress of an estate in Fife, a crown charter of part of his father's lands was expedite in his favour, on the 24th of November that year. Sir George, as we have seen, was associated with his father in suffering, but he survived those evil times, and had his losses made up. Soon after the Revolution, an act was passed in the Parliament which sat down on the 25th of April 1690, rescinding all forfeitures and fines inflicted since the year 1665, and thus the lands of Cesnock were restored to Sir George. In the same year he was appointed Lord Justice-Clerk and one of the Lords of Session.

JOHN STEWART was, at the Restoration, minister of a parish in the Presbytery of Deer, in the Synod of Aberdeen, but, on the establishment of Prelacy, was ejected from it for nonconformity. On the 30th of January 1685, he was libelled before a Committee of Council, which at that time had been sent north to Murrayshire to prosecute all persons guilty of church disorders in that part of the country, and which met at Elgin. He was charged with keeping "conventicles, withdrawing from the ordinances, preaching seditious doctrine, plotting against the government, supplying and harbouring rebels, and other public crimes and irregularities." When examined before the Committee on the 2d of February, he deponed, upon his solemn oath, that he had not kept his own parish church for eighteen or nineteen years, and that he had preached in his own family, and in several private houses, but denied all the other articles of the libel. On the ground of his confession, and also because he refused to take the oath of allegiance, he was, on the 4th of February, sentenced to be banished out of his Majesty's dominions, and ordered, with that view, to be transported prisoner to the tolbooth of Edinburgh. Instead, however, of being banished, on his arrival in the south, he was imprisoned in the Bass, where he lay till liberated by an order of the Council, issued on the 21st of June 1686.

ALEXANDER DUNBAR was for some time schoolmaster at Auldearn. He was licensed to preach the gospel by a number of Presbyterian ministers at Edinburgh. When the Committee of the Privy Council, just now referred to, met at Elgin, in the beginning of the year 1685, he was

brought before them, charged with the same offences for which Mr John Stewart was libelled. Being examined before them, on the 2d of February, he declared that he did not keep his own parish church, and that he had several times preached within these four years in private houses. He also refused to take the oath of allegiance. On these grounds, the Committee of Council, at their diet of the 4th of February, pronounced the same sentence of banishment upon him which they had pronounced on Mr Stewart. This sentence, however, was not carried into effect. On being brought to the south, he was conveyed prisoner to the Bass, where he remained in confinement till 1686, when the Council, in answer to a petition which he presented to them, granted an order for his being set at liberty, in consideration of the impaired state of his health.

JAMES FITHIE was chaplain of Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh, a situation to which he was elected by the Town Council on the 20th of January 1671. He had attended his own parish church, and received baptism for his children from the regular incumbent of the parish. But his sympathies being on the side of the persecuted Presbyterians, he had given evidence of this in several ways, and on various occasions. On this account he was apprehended, and lay in one of the jails of Edinburgh for some time previous to July 1679, when he was released.* He was again arrested about the

* Wodrow, in his History, (vol. iii. p. 151,) calls him by mistake "James Forthie." This has led Dr Crichton, in his list of the Bass prisoners annexed to his Memoirs of Mr John Blackadder, erroneously to suppose that the person whom Wodrow calls in that place "James Forthie," is different from "James Futhy," whose imprisonment in the Bass in 1685, is recorded by that historian in vol iv. p. 215. It is the same person who is spoken of in both places. Crichton is also mistaken in representing

beginning of the year 1685, and imprisoned in the Bass in April, where he lay till March 1686, at which time he was liberated by an order of the Council, in consideration of his own ill health, and the afflicted condition of his family.

PETER KID was settled minister at Douglas, in the Presbytery of Lanark, about the year 1654, but was ejected from his parish by the act of the Privy Council at Glasgow in 1662. He afterwards became indulged minister at Carluke. In October 1684, he was brought before the Council for breaking several of his instructions as indulged minister, for neglecting to observe the anniversary of his Majesty's birth and restoration, and for not reading from his pulpit the proclamation enjoining the thanksgiving appointed to be observed by government, for his Majesty's and the Duke of York's deliverance from the Rye-house Plot.* On these grounds his indulgence was declared to be null and void, and afterwards, about May 1685, for refusing to come under an obligation not to preach without receiving permission from the government, he was sent to the Bass, where he continued a prisoner upwards of a year. Being then advanced in life, and his health having suffered much, he presented a petition to the Council, praying to be released from prison, and to be allowed to live at his own house privately. In compliance with this petition, the Committee of Council for Public Affairs, on the 21st of September 1686, gave order and warrant for his being set at liberty.

"James Forthie," or more correctly James Fithie, as imprisoned in the Bass in 1679. That he was not imprisoned there at that time, is evident from what is stated in Appendix, No. I., p. 379.

* See pp. 92-94.

WILLIAM SPENCE was a schoolmaster in Fife. In the month of May 1685, he was summoned to appear before the Privy Council, and, appearing, was committed prisoner to the Bass. After lying there for about a year, on presenting a petition to the Council, praying to be released, on the ground of his poverty and ill health, the Council, on the 20th of July 1686, grant him liberty, "upon his finding caution to compear before the Council on the first Council-day in November next, and in the mean time to live peaceably, and not to keep a school, under the penalty of five thousand merks Scots money in case of failure." His liberty was afterwards repeatedly prorogued.

ALEXANDER SHIELDS received his literary and philosophical education at the College of Edinburgh, and after studying theology, was licensed by some Scottish dissenting ministers at London, whither he had gone with an intention to act as an amanuensis to Dr Owen, or some other of the English divines. On the 11th of January 1685, when employed in preaching in a private house in Gutter-lane, London, he, with several of the hearers, were apprehended by the mayor of the city, and at length he was shipped for Leith. On his arrival, he was in that same year twice brought before the Lords of Justiciary; and on the 7th of August 1685, the Privy Council ordained him to be carried prisoner to the Bass. About the autumn of 1686, he with the other ministers imprisoned in the Bass were brought to Edinburgh, and had their liberty offered them, provided they would engage to live orderly. Refusing, when brought before the Council, to come under this

engagement, he was recommitted to the tolbooth of Edinburgh,* but he succeeded in making his escape from it disguised in women's clothes.† Immediately after this, he acceded to Mr Renwick and his party. Shields joined the Revolution Church, and was settled minister at St Andrews, where he continued to labour till 1699, when he, with three other ministers, were appointed to accompany the Scottish colony to the intended settlement at Darien in America. He died of a malignant fever on the 14th of June 1700, at Port Royal in Jamaica.

Thus have we endeavoured—at some pains indeed, but still we feel imperfectly, and not so fully as we desired—to give a sketch of the Worthies who were immured in this Scottish Bastile. Our space will not allow us to indulge in the reflections which naturally arise after concluding such a retrospect. These we must leave to the candid and serious reader to form for himself. It may only be remarked, in short, that the cases of persecution which we have now reviewed,—and they are only a few of the enormities of these persecuting times,—cannot fail, if duly pondered, to impress the mind with abhorrence of civil and religious tyranny, to fill us with gratitude to the great Giver of all good for the blessings of peace and liberty we now enjoy, and to elevate in our esteem and veneration those good but evil-entreated men to whom, and to others who struggled and suffered in the same cause, we owe, under God, the preservation of all that we hold dear as Britons and as Christians.

* See pp. 346, 347.

† Howie, in his *Scots Worthies*, erroneously says that it was from the Bass that Shields made his escape.

APPENDIX TO THE MARTYRS OF THE BASS.

No. I.

THE twelve whom Dr Crichton includes among the prisoners of the Bass, but who, we have every reason to believe, were never imprisoned there, are the following:—Mr William Veitch, minister of Dumfries after the Revolution; Mr Thomas Wilkie, preacher, and afterwards minister, of the Canongate, Edinburgh; Mr Francis Irvine, minister of Kirkmahoe; Mr John Mossman, preacher; Mr Archibald Maclean, minister of Killean; Mr William Kyle, preacher, and minister of a parish in Galloway after the Revolution; Mr Henry Erskine, minister at Cornhill, Northumberland, and father of Ebenezer Erskine, the founder of the Secession; Mr John Linlithgow, minister of Ewes; Lady Gordon of Earlston; Mr Ralph Rogers, minister in Glasgow; Mr James Urquhart, minister at Kinloss; and Mr John Knox, minister of North Leith, and afterwards indulged minister at West Calder. We shall briefly state the grounds upon which we conclude that these individuals were never imprisoned in the Bass.

With respect to Mr William Veitch, although the Privy Council, on the 25th of February 1679, “approved the report of the Committee for Public Affairs that he be sent to the Bass,” and, on the 11th of March, appointed him to be conveyed to that prison, yet this act was not executed: for, in an order of the 18th of that month, requiring the King’s Advocate to proceed against him before the Justiciary Court, he is represented as “prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh.”* Had Veitch been a prisoner in the Bass, such a fact would undoubtedly have been recorded in his *Memoirs of Himself*, in which he describes so minutely the public sufferings he endured in the cause of Presbytery. But in that document no reference to any such thing is to be found.

That Mr Thomas Wilkie and Mr Francis Irvine are erroneously enumerated among the prisoners of the Bass is no less certain. They were indeed ordered to be carried thither by an act of Privy Council, May 1679;† but that order was not carried into effect. They continued prisoners at Edinburgh till July, when, by virtue of the King’s indemnity granted after the defeat of the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, as they had not been accessory to “the rebellion” they were set at liberty by the following act:—“July 4. 1679.—The Council grant order to the

* Wodrow’s History, vol. iii. pp. 7, 8.

† Ibid., vol. iii. p. 61.

Magistrates of Edinburgh to set at liberty the ministers underwritten, prisoners for conventicles, Messrs John Mossman, Archibald Maclean, James Fithie, William Kyle, Robert Fleming, Francis Irvine, and Thomas Wilkie, they enacting themselves in the books of Privy Council for their peaceable behaviour, and that they shall not preach at field conventicles under the pains contained in his Majesty's proclamation ; and ordain such ministers as are in the Bass to be sent for, that they may be set at liberty upon their enacting themselves as aforesaid.'*

This act forms all the evidence which Crichton has for classing three other ministers, Mr John Mossman, Mr Archibald Maclean, and Mr William Kyle, among the Bass prisoners. He surely had not read the act, but must have only glanced at the names in the beginning of it, and "Bass" at the close, and from this hastily concluded that these ministers were then lying in the prison of the Bass ; for the act distinctly intimates that they were at that time imprisoned in Edinburgh.

Mr Henry Erskine must also be denied a place among the martyrs of the Bass. In Chalmers' General Biographical Dictionary, it is indeed affirmed that he continued in that dungeon nearly three years, till, through the interest of the then Earl of Mar, his kinsman, he was set at liberty, and that his son Ebenezer was born in it. But both these statements, although they have been repeatedly quoted as facts by subsequent writers, are equally unfounded. Erskine was indeed sentenced to be imprisoned in the Bass by an act of Council, June 6. 1682. But on presenting a petition to the Council praying that the sentence might be changed into banishment from the kingdom, this favour, through the interest of his friends, was granted ; and within fourteen days, the time specified for his removing from the kingdom, taking farewell of his wife, children, and friends, he went to England.† Ebenezer, his son, was born on the 22d of July 1680, probably at Dryburgh, as his parents were residing at that village at that time, free from any considerable annoyance—that is, nearly two years before his father was sentenced to be imprisoned in the Bass.‡

What has been now said respecting Mr Henry Erskine is equally applicable to Mr John Linlithgow. He was also, on the 6th of June 1682, sentenced by the Council to be transported to the Bass, but, on presenting a petition to the Council, engaging to leave the kingdom and not to return without licence from his Majesty or the Council, he was in like manner set at liberty.§

It is very doubtful whether Lady Gordon of Earlston was ever in

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii. p. 151.

† Decrees of Privy Council; and Life of Henry Erskine in Cheap Publications of the Free Church of Scotland, p. 134.

‡ Fraser's Life of Henry and Ebenezer Erskine, pp. 18, 61, 62.

§ Decrees of Privy Council.

the Bass. Earlstoun himself was a prisoner there only about a fortnight,* and that his lady was confined with him during that time we have no evidence. In her case the Bass has been confounded with Blackness. She voluntarily became prisoner with him in the latter dungeon,† in which he was closely shut up for several years, and it was there, and not in the Bass, as has been sometimes incorrectly stated, that she wrote her "Soliloquies" or Religious Meditations, which have been frequently republished.

Mr Ralph Rogers must also be excluded from the list of Bass prisoners. Crichton's sole authority for including him is the statement made by Wodrow in his History, vol. iv. p. 41, who, under the year 1684, says, "All the indulged ministers in the western shires and elsewhere, were summarily laid aside, and those of them who would not oblige themselves not to preach were imprisoned, first in the tolbooth of Edinburgh and then in Blackness or the Bass, as Mr Ralph Rogers, Mr William Tullidaff, Mr Anthony Murray, Mr John Greig, Mr John Knox," &c. But from this account it is doubtful whether Rogers' place of confinement was Blackness or the Bass. The Records of the Privy Council, however, determine that the latter and not the former was the place of his imprisonment after his removal from the tolbooth of Edinburgh.

It is equally certain that Mr James Urquhart is not entitled to a place on the list. Crichton has enrolled him on the authority of the statement of Wodrow in his History, vol. iv. p. 196, who, when speaking of the proceedings of the Committee of the Council, which visited Murrayshire in 1685, says, "Mr James Urquhart, Mr Alexander Dunbar, and some other ministers, were sent south to prison, and confined in the Bass and Blackness." There is some ambiguity in this statement. But Mr James Brodie, a gentleman in Murrayshire, in a letter to Wodrow, dated April 7. 1719, narrating the proceedings of that Committee, speaks more determinately, shewing that the Bass was Dunbar's place of imprisonment and Blackness that of Urquhart. "Several of our Presbyterian ministers," says he, "were likewise sent south to prison at that time, such as Mr James Urquhart, who was first put in prison [in Edinburgh] and afterwards in the Castle of Blackness; Mr Thomas Hog, Mr Alexander Dunbar, Mr John M'Gilligen, were carried south prisoners and afterwards put into the Bass."‡ The accuracy of these statements is confirmed by documents found among the Warrants of the Privy Council.

Nor have we discovered any evidence that Mr John Knox, minister

* See p. 370.

† In some instances during the persecution ladies were allowed to live in prison with their husbands, but in such cases they were subjected to the same confinement as their husbands, with the exception of being laid in irons.

‡ Wodrow MSS. vol. XL, folio, no. 65.

of North Leith, was ever confined in the Bass. The only authority which Crichton adduces for assigning him a place on his list is the statement of Wodrow in his History, vol. iv. p. 41, already quoted (p. 380), but which is too indeterminate to settle the point. Knox was for some time imprisoned in Edinburgh in 1685, but was soon afterwards set at liberty.

The list we have given of the prisoners of the Bass, includes all who were confined there during the reigns of Charles II. and James VII., so far as we have been able to discover, with only three exceptions. As these three were not imprisoned for Presbyterian principles, nor were Presbyterians by profession, and as the object of this volume is to illustrate the persecution of the Presbyterians, we have not included them among our Biographical Sketches. It may not be improper here to give a brief notice of these individuals in the order of their imprisonment.

1. The first is Hector Allan, who was a Quaker in his religious principles, and a seaman by trade. He was ordered by the Council, at their meeting April 4. 1678, to be transported prisoner to the Bass, "for abusing and railing upon one of the ministers of North Leith," Mr Thomas Wilkie.* Meetings of the Quakers had been held in Allan's house at Leith; and Mr Wilkie, being informed of this, took occasion, in one of his sermons, to condemn the principles of the Quakers; upon which, Allan, offended, addressed Mr Wilkie in these terms, about the close of divine worship one Sabbath, "Friend, I would know by what authority thou doest these things;" "and went on in several extravagant expressions to upbraid and scoff at a high rate, until he was interrupted by some of the people that were nearest him, and committed to prison by some of the constables." He did not, however, remain long in the Bass, an order having been issued on the 31st of May 1678, for his being brought thence to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, where, and also in the tolbooth of Leith, he lay for some time during that year, and then was released. 2. The second is George Young, who was a Popish priest. He was ordered by the Council, in January 1679, to be sent to the Bass, but nothing farther is known respecting him. 3. The third is John Philip, curate at Queensferry. He had refused to take the test for which he was laid aside from his curacy. He was afterwards, in March 1683, libelled before the Privy Council, for having said "that the Duke of York was a bloody and cruel man, and a great tyrant, and was detestable to the subjects; and that the Bishop of Edinburgh and the King's Advocate, were bloody and cruel men, and he hoped ere long to see them suffer for it; as also, that the Earl of Argyle was unjustly forfeited, and that there was no law for forfeiting him." Being convicted of these charges, he was fined £2000 sterling, to be paid within

* Decrees of Privy Council.

fourteen days, declared infamous, and sentenced to be imprisoned in the Bass during his lifetime; and the Council farther declared, that if he did not pay the said fine within the time specified, he should be pursued before the Justiciary Court for his life. Whether he died on the Bass we do not know; but his death took place before the 17th of June 1686.

No. II., pp. 285, 302.

"24th July 1689.—The said day the Lord Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh, having called before them the Presbyterian ministers that were formerly called by the neighbours of the Presbyterian persuasion within the town of Edinburgh, and having desired a sight of their respective calls, they find Mr Hugh Kennedy, Mr James Kirkton, Mr John Law, and Mr William Erskine, to have been called by them upon the 22d day of July 1687 years, and Mr Alexander Hamilton to have been called on the 6th of September thereafter, and Mr Gilbert Rule upon the 7th of December 1688 years, and considering their fitness, ability, and qualifications to be constant ministers in Edinburgh, with their peaceable deportment since their coming to the place, and that it will be good and acceptable service to the neighbours and inhabitants of the city, to call, settle, and present them to benefices, by the Magistrates and Council: We, therefore, the Provost, Bailies, and bail common Council of Edinburgh, as patrons, do by thir presents, call, nominate, and settle the said Messrs Hugh Kennedy, James Kirkton, John Law, William Erskine, Alexander Hamilton, and Gilbert Rule, constant ministers within the town of Edinburgh, in all time coming, during all the days of their lifetime; and by thir presents, we do ratify and approve the former calls given to them by the neighbours and inhabitants of the city, and declare that hereafter we will take care to provide them to competent stipends, as they enter to churches or vacancies that have already fallen or shall happen hereafter to vacate, as they do or shall fall out."

ZOOLOGY OF THE BASS.

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ZOOLOGY OF THE BASS.

THERE are few objects of Natural History connected with the Bass which do not, at the same time, occur in the neighbouring localities, but these few are of a very interesting kind. Of its characteristic Bird, it has been quaintly said by a biographer of Blackadder, “ the most ancient inhabitants of this island (the Bass), in all probability were the solan geese.” Tradition, however, is silent as to the period of its colonization by these sea-fowl, equally with respect to the region whence they emigrated, or the peculiar aptitude of the Bass for their summer residence. Our earliest historians, however, do not fail to mention the occurrence of these birds on the island, and they even venture to record their manners and the useful purposes they served to their more powerful and despotic superiors.

Thus HECTOR BOECE, in his History of Scotland, published in 1526, gives the following detailed account of this singular colony of birds, which we shall quote in the words of Hollindshead’s Translation :—

“ Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and woonder; therein also is great store of soland geese (vnlike to those which Plinie calleth water eagles, or (as we saie) sea herons) and no where else but in Ailsaie and this rocke. At their first comming, which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather such great plentie of sticks and boughs together for the building of their nests, that the same doo satisfie the keeper of the castell, for the yeerelie maintenance of his fewell, without anie other prouision. These foules doo feed their yoong with the most delicat fish that they can come by. For though they haue alreadie preied vpon anie one, and haue it fast in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to espie a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea, and pursue the later with great and eager swiftnesse, vntill they take hold thereof.

“ Sometimes their preie is taken from them by the kéepers of the castell, as also their sticks from time to time for the aforesaid vse; but they making small or rather no resistance, doo turne againe forthwith, for more wood or fish (as their losse requireth) not ceasing till they haue builded their nests with the one, and nourished vp their yoong with the otheir, so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their prie, and stealing awaie of their yoong, they bring yéerelie no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowels of these géese there is a kind of grease to be had of singular force in medicine, and fleaing likewise the skin from their bodies with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable for the gout and manie other diseases in the hanches and groines of mankind. In this crag more, there groweth an herbe verie pleasant and delicious for salads, but if it be taken vp and planted elsewhere, it either groweth not at all, or vtterlie giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earst indued.”*

* As connected with the Bass, Boece mentions, that “there was sometime a stone found here in this rocke much like to a water sponge or pumice, hollow on the one side, and of such a nature, that if anie salt water had béenepowred thereinto, and suffered to run through, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and verie pleasant vnto the

This description, although faulty in some particulars, which we shall afterwards have occasion to point out, nevertheless, for general truthfulness, forms a striking contrast with those delusions of the fancy, which the same author gravely records in reference to the production of birds from shells found attached to wood in the sea.

“Now it is come to hand that I intreat of those géese which are ingendred by the sea, whose procreation hath hitherto been thought to haue beene made upon trees. But the opinion is false, and yet sith their generation is strange indeed, I haue not a little trauelled, and with no small diligence in-deuoured to search out the truth héerof, whereby I learne that their ingendrure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughts: for although that they are in sundrie wise producted, yet I find the same to be performed continuallie in the sea, and not elsewhere, as shall appéere hereafter. All trées cast into that element in processe of time become wormeaten, and in the holes thereof are the said wormes to be found, though verie little and small (in comparison to that they be afterward) to be perceiued at the first. In the beginning, these worms doo shew their heads and féet, and last of all their plumes & wings. Finallie when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of géese, they flie in the aire as other foules doo.

“This was notablie prooued in the yeare of Grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castell of Peslego, whither the bodie of a great trée was brought by working of the sea. This trée being taken, it was carried to the lord of the soile, who soone after caused it to be slit in sunder with a saw: which being doone, it is incredible to see, what a multitude of wormes came out of their holes. Of these also some appeered as if they had béene but new shapen, diuers had head, foot and wings, but no feathers, the rest were formed into perfect foules.

mouth and tast. We heare in these daies that this stone is to be séene in Fast castell, whither it was brought after it had passed manie hands for the triall of this matter.”

At last when the people had gazed thereon by the space of an whole daie, they carried it to saint Andrewes church beside Tire, where the said blocke remains still to be seene. Within two yeeres after there hapned such another trée to come into the firth of Tay beside Dundée, wormeaten and full of yoong géese after the same maner: the third was séen in the hauen of Leith beside Edenburgh: and also within a few yéeres, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after she had lien thrée yéeres at anchor in one of these Iles, was brought to Leith, where bicause hir timber was found to be rotten she was taken in sunder, and in hir kéele were found infinite holes as if they had beene eaten with wormes, or bored with a wimble, and each one of them filled with such creatures as I haue said before.

“Héere if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber onelie as grew in these Iles, and that all roots and trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption doo turne into these foules, I will disprooue his assertion by one notable example shewed before mine eies. Maister Alexander Galloway parson of Kinkell, was with vs in these Iles, & giuing his mind with attentiué diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he took vp a branch of Alga, called in Scottish, Seatangle, which hanged full of muskle shels from the root euen to the verie top. Being also desirous to sée what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a foule perfectlie shapen fullie answering to the capacitie of the shell.

“Finallie, knowing that I was verie inquisitiue of these and the like rare nouelties, he came hastilie with the said hearbe & shewed it vnto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beleue that these Claiks (or Barnacles as I call them) are producted either by the qualities of the trées or the roots thereof, but onelie by the nature of the sea, which

is the verie cause and productrix of so manie worderfull creatures. Futhermore, bicause the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trées, which stood neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into géese, they beléueed that these géese grew vpon trées, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit doo by their stalks, but their opinion is vtterlie to be reiected. For so soone as these apples or fruit fall from the trée into the sea, they grow first to be wormeaten, and in processe of time to be conuerted into géese."

This account of the origin of the Barnacle goose, was afterwards modified by Gerard and others, and furnished the author of *Hudibras* with the materials which led him to err in his facts and invert his sense when he said—

" And from the most refined of saints
As naturally grow miscreants,
As Barnacles turn Soland Geese
In the islands of the Orcades."

The next historian of the colony of the Solan geese of the Bass, is no less a personage than the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, the celebrated WILLIAM HARVEY. This successful physiologist, in his work on the Generation of Animals in 1651, gives a full account of the impressions produced on his mind by a visit to this interesting rock, and which we shall give in the words of the translation published under the authority of the Sydenham Society :—

" In the desert islands of the east coast of Scotland, such flights of almost every kind of sea-fowl congregate, that were I to state what I have heard from parties very worthy of credit, I fear I should be held guilty of telling greater stories than they who have committed themselves in regard to the Scottish geese produced, as they say, from the fruits of certain trees that had fallen into the sea. These geese the narrators themselves had never seen so produced ; but I will here relate that which I have myself witnessed.

" There is a small island which the Scots call the Bass Island

(and speaking of this one will suffice for all), situated in the open ocean, not far from the shore, of the most abrupt and precipitous character, so that it rather resembles one huge rock or stone than an island, and indeed it is not more than a mile in circumference. The surface of this island in the months of May and June is almost completely covered with nests, eggs, and young birds, so that you can scarce find free footing anywhere; and then such is the density of the flight of the old birds above, that like a cloud they darken the sun and the sky; and such the screaming and din that you can scarce hear the voice of one who addresses you. If you turn your eyes below, and from your lofty stance and precipice regard the sea, there you perceive on all sides around an infinite variety of different kinds of sea-fowl swimming about in pursuit of their prey: the face of the ocean is very like that of a pool in the spring season, when it appears swarming with frogs; or to those sunny hills and cliffy mountains looked at from below, that are covered with numerous flocks of sheep and goats. If you sail round the island and look up, you see on every ledge and shelf, and recess, innumerable flocks of birds of almost every size and order; more numerous than the stars that appear in the unclouded moonless sky; and if you regard the flights that incessantly come and go you may imagine that it is a mighty swarm of bees you have before you. I should scarcely be credited did I name the revenue which was annually derived from the feathers, the eggs, and the old nests, which, as useful for firing, are all made objects of traffic by the proprietor; the sum he mentioned to me exceeds credibility. There was this particular feature which, as it refers to our subject, I shall mention, and also as it bears me out in my report of the multitudes of sea-fowl: the whole island appears of a brilliant white colour to those who approach it,—all the cliffs look as if they consisted of the whitest chalk; the true colour of the rock, however, is dusky and black. It is a friable white crust that is spread over all, which gives the island its whiteness and splendour, a crust, having the same consistency, colour, and nature as an egg-shell, which plasters everything

with a hard, though friable and testaceous kind of covering. The lower part of the rock, laved by the ebbing and flowing tide, preserves its native colour, and clearly shows that the whiteness of the superior parts is due to the liquid excrements of the birds, which are voided along with the alvine fæces; which liquid excrements, white, hard, and brittle like the shell of the egg, cover the rock, and, under the influence of the cold of the air, incrust it. Now this is precisely the way in which Aristotle and Pliny will have it that the shell of the egg is formed. None of the birds are permanent occupants of the island, but visitors for purposes of procreation only, staying there for a few weeks, in lodgings, as it were, and until their young ones can take wing along with them. The white crust is so hard and solid, and adheres so intimately to the rock, that it might readily be mistaken for the natural soil of the place.

“The liquid, white, and shining excrement is conveyed from the kidneys of birds by the ureters, into the common receptacle or cloaca; where it covers over the alvine fæces, and with them is discharged. It constitutes, in fact, the thicker portion of the urine of these creatures, and corresponds with that which, in our urine, we call the hypostase or sediment. We have already said something above on this topic, and have entered into it still more fully elsewhere. We always find an abundance of this white excrement in mews; where hawks besmear walls beside their perches, they cover them with a kind of gypseous crust, or make them look as if they were painted with white lead.

“In the cloaca of a dead ostrich I found as much of this gypseous cement as would have filled the hand. And in like manner the same substance abounds in tortoises and other oviparous animals; discharged from the body it soon concretes either into a friable crust, or into a powder which greatly resembles pulverized egg-shells, in consequence of the evaporation of its thinner part.

“Among the many different kinds of birds which seek the

Bass island for the sake of laying and incubating their eggs, and which have such variety of nests, one bird was pointed out to me which lays but one egg, and this it places upon the point of a rock, with nothing like a nest or bed beneath it, yet so firmly that the mother can go and return without injury to it; but if any one move it from its place, by no art can it be fixed or balanced again; left at liberty, it straightway rolls off and falls into the sea. The place, as I have said, is crusted over with a white cement, and the egg, when laid, is bedewed with a thick and viscid moisture, which setting speedily, the egg is soldered as it were, or agglutinated to the subjacent rock.

“An instance of like rapid concretion may be seen any day at a statuary's, when he uses his cement of burnt alabaster or gypsum tempered with water; by means of which the likeness of one dead, or the cast of anything else may be speedily taken, and used as a mould.

“There is also in like manner a certain earthy or solid something in almost all liquids, as, for example, tartar in wine, mud or sand in water, salt in lixivium, which, when the greater portion of the water has been dissipated, concretes and subsides; and so do I conceive the white sediment of birds to descend along with the urine from the kidneys into the cloaca, and there to cover over and incrust the egg, much as the pavement of a mews is plastered over by falcons, and every cliff of the aforementioned island by the birds that frequent it; much also as chamber utensils, and places where many persons make water, become covered with a yellow incrustation; that substance, in fact, concreting externally, of which calculi in the kidneys, bladder, and other parts are formed. I did formerly believe then, as I have said, persuaded especially by the authority of Aristotle and Pliny, that the shell of the hen's egg was formed of this white sediment, which abounds in all the oviparous animals whose eggs are laid with a hard shell, the matter concreting through contact with the air when the egg was laid. And so many additional observations have since strengthened this

conclusion, that I can scarcely keep from believing that some part at least of the shell is thus produced."

The last author to whose description of the Bass we shall particularly refer and quote fully, is the celebrated RAY. This eminent zoologist and botanist, perhaps better known to the general reader by his esteemed work "The Wisdom of God in the Creation," paid a visit to the Bass 19th August 1661, and the following account of his observations are recorded in his "Itineraries" as forming a part of the "Select Remains:"—

"We went to Leith, keeping all along on the side of the Fryth. By the way we viewed Tontallon Castle, and passed over to the Bass Island; where we saw, on the rocks, innumerable of the Soland geese.* The old ones are all over white, excepting the pinion or hard feathers of their wings, which are black. The upper part of the head and neck, in those that are old, is of a yellowish dun colour. They lay but one egg apiece, which is white, and not very large: they are very bold and sit in great multitudes till one comes close up to them, because they are not wont to be scared or disturbed. The young ones are esteemed a choice dish in Scotland, and sold very dear (1s. 8d. plucked). We eat of them at Dunbar. They are in bigness little inferior to an ordinary goose. The young one is upon the back black, and speckled with little white spots, under the breast and belly grey. The beak is sharp-pointed, the mouth very wide and large, the tongue very small, the eyes great, the foot hath four toes webbed together. It feeds upon mackrel and herring, and the flesh of the young one smells and tastes strong of these fish. The other birds which nestle in the Basse are these; the scout, which is double ribbed; the cattiwake, in English cormorant; the scart, and a bird called the

* "In Scotia Anatum, seu Anserum Genus, Bernacles, ex Conchis aut Arboribus vulgo nasci perhibetur.' Ex Everardi Ottonis Notitiâ præcipuarum Europæ Rerumpub. cap. iv. sect. 1, p. 297.

"This name of Bernacles, as applied to the Soland goose, explains what Cleaveland, in his Satyr upon the Scotch, means by feeding on Bernacles."

turtle-dove, whole footed, and the feet red. There are verses which contain the names of these birds among the vulgar, two whereof are,

The scout, the scart, the cattiwake,
The Soland goose sits on the lack,
Yearly in the spring.

We saw of the scout's eggs, which are very large and speckled. It is very dangerous to climb the rocks for the young of these fowls, and seldom a year passeth, but one or other of the climbers fall down and lose their lives, as did one not long before our being there. The laird of this island makes a great profit yearly of the Soland geese taken; as I remember, they told us £130 sterling. There is in the isle a small house, which they call a castle; it is inaccessible and impregnable, but of no great consideration in a war, there being no harbour, nor any thing like it. The island will afford grass enough to keep 30 sheep. They make strangers that come to visit it burgesses of the Basse, by giving them to drink of the water of the well, which springs near the top of the rock, and a flower out of the garden thereby. The island is nought else but a rock, and stands off the land near a mile; at Dunbar you would not guess it above a mile distant, though it be thence at least five. We found growing in the island, in great plenty, *Beta marina*, *Lychnis marina nostras*, *Malva arborea marina nostras*, and *Cochlearia rotundifolia*."

In the preceding extracts from Boece, Harvey, and Ray, given entire as from works not generally accessible to the ordinary reader, the more prominent features of the feathered inhabitants of the Bass have been depicted with tolerable fidelity, blended, however, with a few speculations requiring correction.

In the "Ornithology" of Willoughby, edited (1678) by Ray, it is stated, that "in the Bass island in Scotland, lying in the middle of the Edinburgh Frith, *and no where else that I know of in Britany*, a huge number of these birds (Soland

geese) doth yearly breed." This learned naturalist was not aware of the announcement of Boece, a century and a half previously, that "Ailsaie" in the Clyde, was in one respect equal to the "Solangoosifera Bassa" of the Forth, nor had the numerous other British localities where the gannet breeds, been in his day discovered. At the present time England can boast of its colony at Lundy Island off the coast of Devon, Ireland that of the Skelig Isles off the Kerry coast, while Scotland, in addition to the Bass and Ailsa, can refer to the more extensive congregations of these birds at St Kilda and the Suliskerry, or, as the latter may be translated, Gannet Rock.

The total number of gannets which resort annually to the Bass as breeding ground, cannot be determined in a satisfactory manner. Considering 1800 as rather a high number of young birds, annually removed from their nests before being able to fly, and taking into account those old birds which select inaccessible positions for their nests, we shall probably be tolerably near the truth, when we estimate the breeding pairs at 5000. This number, however, is insignificant when compared with those of St Kilda, if we may credit the numerical statement of Martin on the subject, who says, "the Solan geese are very numerous here, insomuch that the inhabitants commonly keep yearly *above twenty thousand* young and old in the little stone-houses, of which there are some hundreds, for preserving their fowls' eggs." *Description of the Western Islands*, 1703, p. 281.

The Solan goose, as a denizen of the northern hemisphere, has other breeding places than those around our own coast. To the north it abounds at the Myggenaes, the westmost of the group of the Faroe Islands. In North America they are extremely abundant on some rocky isles in the Bay of St Lawrence, and of the coast of Labrador. This extensive latitudinal range of breeding ground of the gannet, extending to upwards of twelve degrees, indicates very plainly that temperature exercises but a very feeble influence on its migrations.

A supply of suitable food for the young is at all times an essential requisite in a breeding station, and in this respect the whole range of coast seems well adapted, and yet the colonies of gannets are distributed differently from those sea-fowl which invariably breed where they breed. We have numerous breeding places for the Kittiwake, Razor-bill, Foolish Guillemot, and the Scraber, on different parts of the coast, which the Gannet never frequents, although these birds are its usual associates in its selected stations. The size of the bird probably interferes and restricts its occupancy to those rocks, the ledges of which have sufficient breadth to allow the young bird to grow to its full size in safety, and the old birds to alight or take wing conveniently. Even where protected, as at the Bass, the two colonies which, unable probably to find space among the cliffs, have occupied the surface of the island, confine themselves to the very margin. On level ground the gannets could not mount into the air like the gulls, but require for commencing their course a free space, through which they fall for several yards almost perpendicularly before the motion of the wings can give them the full command of their flight. In alighting, too, they seem to fall heavily.

The gannets occupy their breeding places simply for the purposes of incubation, deserting them, in a great measure, when these have been served. The period, however, which is occupied in the rearing of the young until these become able to fly and shift for themselves, is somewhat prolonged. The old birds, as is usual with other congregating migratory species, neither arrive nor depart simultaneously. A few stragglers make their appearance previous to the arrival of the main body, and a few linger behind after the mass of the colony has departed. In general, however, it may be stated that the process of incubation lasts throughout a period of nearly seven months, or from March to September.

The nest of the gannet has been variously described by different observers. Boece deals largely in the marvellous, when he tells us, in the extract already quoted, that the gannets at

their first coming gather such great plenty of sticks and boughs together for the building of their nests, that the same satisfies the keeper of the castle for the yearly maintenance of his fuel, without any other provision. Harvey states, with greater reserve, that the old nests are useful for fuel. This remark called forth the animadversions of Willoughby, who says, "I suppose he was mistaken in that he writes that the lord of the island makes some profit yearly of the reliques of the nests useful for fuel. For these kind of birds do not make their nests of straws, sticks, or such like combustible matter good for fuel; but either lay their eggs on the naked rocks, or spread under them very few straws, bents, or such like inconsiderable stuffs." (*Ornithology*, p. 19.) The notion thus entertained by Willoughby appeared to Dr Walker as involving a very unfair way of reasoning, by opposing a supposition to a fact, and he adds, "If Mr Willoughby had ever been upon the Bass, he would in some measure have altered his opinion concerning the nests of sea-fowl. The nests of the Solan geese, which cover a considerable part of the island, are of a great size, are built for the most part of sticks and branches of trees, some of them pretty large; and as Dr Harvey related, the demolition of these nests *still supplies the keepers of the Bass with a considerable quantity of fuel.* (Essays on Natural History, Edin. 1808, p. 287.) In opposition, however, to this very decided statement of Dr Walker, we must quote the words of an acute observer, Dr Macgillivray, who did visit the Bass in company with Mr Audubon, the celebrated American ornithologist, in the middle of August 1835. He says, "The nests are composed of grass and sea-weeds, generally placed on the bare rock or earth, elevated in the form of a truncated cone, of which the base is about twenty inches in diameter, with a shallow terminal cavity. On the summit of the island are numerous holes in the turf, from eight to fifteen inches deep, and from six to nine broad, formed by the gannets in pulling away grass and turf for their nests. They are placed on all parts of the rocks where a convenient spot occurs, but are much more numerous towards the

summit. Some of them on the face of the rock, or in a shallow fissure, and which have been occupied for years, are piled up to the height of from three to five feet, but in this case they always lean against the rock." (Description of the Rapacious Birds of Great Britain, Edinb. 1836, p. 172.) The nests which we examined in August last, seemed chiefly composed of sea-weeds, and a very little grass, in some cases the materials so decomposed as to resemble a mass of peat or an old dung-heap, and well fitted for being used as a manure.

How then are we to account for these statements respecting the productiveness of the nests, as a supply of fuel? That sticks and branches have been found on certain occasions constituting the nests of the gannets, can scarcely admit of a doubt, although the present keeper does not gain any addition to his fuel from the modern nests. In certain seasons the spring floods may have abounded, and brought down into the Forth many branches. These, as the gannets found them carried about by the tide, would be seized upon, as floating seaweeds are at present, and conveyed to the nests, and might be available to the keepers to some extent. Or the nests, of old, may have been dried and used as fuel, as cow dung is employed in several places in Orkney at the present day. These conjectures may in some measure save us from the still bolder conclusion, that the nest building propensities of the gannet have undergone a change, or that the anciently available materials are not now accessible.

As a proof of this indiscriminate propensity of the gannet, to gather every removable object for the construction of its nest, Martin states that "the steward of St Kilda told (him), that they found a Red Coat in the nest, a Brass Dial and an Arrow and some Molusca beans in another nest," all doubtless found floating on the sea or left on some easily accessible islet.

If considerable differences prevail in the published accounts of the materials of the nest of the gannet, there are likewise discrepancies in the history of the egg and its incubation, to

which we shall now very briefly advert. Harvey refers to one bird on the Bass, which, he says, lays but one egg, and places it upon the point of a rock, with nothing like a nest or bed beneath it, yet so firmly, that the mother can go and return without injury to it; but if any one remove it from its place, by no art can it be fixed or balanced again; left at liberty, it straightway rolls off and falls into the sea; and this reference has usually been considered as connected with the gannet. This report, which Harvey the more easily credited from the notions which he entertained of the secretion by birds of a 'gypseous cement,' as stated in the extract already made, does not seem to have been countenanced by any subsequent visitor of the Bass, and may fairly be ranked among exploded popular errors.

Dr Walker states, on the authority of the then keeper of the island, "that they (gannets) do not stand upon the egg, as is commonly reported, but sit upon it with their breast, which we saw indeed, like other fowls, *but one of their feet is always folded under them upon the egg.*" Dr Macgillivray, in reference to the egg, says, it "is solitary, and presents nothing remarkable in its position, is of an elongated oval form, bluish white, dull with a chalky surface, usually patched with yellowish-brown dust. It is subjected to what might appear rough usage, for the bird in alighting, flying off, or when disturbed by the intrusion of human visitors, tumbles it about and often stands upon it." In approaching the nest during incubation, the gannet seems usually to move off by the side, and while one foot is on the margin of the nest, the other may very frequently be observed resting on the egg, not however, in different examples, always in the same position. Judging, indeed, from the observations which we have been able to make, it seems probable that the gannet rests on the egg in the nest as other birds do, but in preparing to move, especially in retiring from an intruder, it does not hesitate to set its foot upon the egg, and hence it has been imagined to embrace it always throughout the whole process of incubation.

When engaged in the process of hatching, the gannets allow of a very near approach, but as far as we have observed, not suffering themselves to be touched, without opening their bills, and by sounds and gestures assuming rather a threatening aspect. Mr Selby must have found the colony on the flat surface of the rock on the south-west side of the island in a peculiarly peaceable and confiding temperament when they allowed "themselves to be stroked by the hand, without resistance or any show even of impatience, except a low guttural note." Even to one another there is often displayed among neighbours no small amount of strife, arising from the mutual pilfering of the materials of the nests, and other sources of irritation not perhaps as yet determined. On one occasion we saw, on an old bird alighting, another immediately exhibit signs of displeasure, but instead of opening their bills, they proceeded to a series of rapid alternate crossings of these organs, uttering a peculiar cry, and after continuing for about a minute separated, as if worn out with this singular rubbing of noses.

The young birds are at first a comparatively shapeless mass of fat, covered with a very soft white down. After five or six weeks the first feathers make their appearance, and in about three months they are able to leave the nest for the open sea. At this period of independent existence, they are light-coloured on the under side, and are black above with white spots, as may be seen in the annexed cut, copied from Yarrell's interesting work on British Birds. In this state of in part immature plumage the bird remains until the third, if not in some cases the fourth year, changing gradually into the parent dress and not pairing until this is acquired.

During the period of the rearing of the young birds, the parents provide, at the different stages of their growth, food suitable to their powers. At first the young are fed with a nearly pulpy mass ejected from the gullet of the parent, and afterwards they are supplied with entire fish from the same source; for it is to be observed that the food for the young is never carried by the old birds from the sea in their bill, but is in-



GOILAN GOOSIE
OLD AND YOUNG

variably disgorged. In the process of feeding, Dr Walker states, that the parent birds "bring to the nest four or five herrings or a greater number of garvies (sprats) in their gorget, and these the young fowl pulls out with his bill as with a pincer." In watching the process of feeding, we have witnessed appearances such as Dr Walker has described, the young bird seizing the prey before it had passed from the bill of the parent; but in other cases we have seen the old bird, after a characteristic shaking of the head and neck, get the contents of the gullet transferred to the mouth, and fairly lay a portion of the contents into the gaping mouth of the young; the giver and the receiver, however, being equally disposed towards the accomplishment of the object.

The gannet has been stated by Temminck to swim seldom, and never to submerge or dive at all. (Manuel d'Ornithologie, t. 2d, p. 204). Nuttall, in his Ornithology of the United States, likewise advocates the same view. "The gannet seems incapable of diving, at least no alarm can force it to immerse. Upon the water, it seems as buoyant as a gull. When offered fish, they will take it, but will never go into a pond after it; and from every appearance of their action on water, to which they will only go by compulsion, they cannot procure the fish beyond the extent of their neck." (Water Birds, p. 498). These statements are perhaps rather strongly expressed. Like the gulls, our bird when floating on the water is incapable by any exertion of its feet and wings to effect the submergence of its body. But when soaring in the air, at sixty or a hundred yards above the surface, it espies a fish beneath the surface of the water, it immediately descends, with rigid outstretched neck vertically, like an arrow, penetrates into the water with a squash, and having secured its prey, rises to the surface to dispose of it in its gorget, and then takes wing to repeat the operation: when unsuccessful, it very speedily mounts into the air. Judging from the rapidity of descent by gravity, for during the fall the wings are motionless, and the length of time during which the bird remains out of sight beneath the water,

it probably penetrates at times to the depth of several fathoms. Dr Borlace stated to Mr Pennant, that a gannet "flying over Penzance, and seeing some pilchards lying on a fir plank, in a cellar used for curing fish, darted itself down with such violence, that it struck its bill quite through the board, about an inch and quarter thick, and broke its neck." Pennant adds, "These birds are sometimes taken at sea by a deception of the like kind. The fishermen fasten a pilchard to a board and leave it floating, whose inviting bait decoys the unwary gannet to its own destruction." (British Zoology, 2d, p. 619).

The old birds, after the period of incubation, and rearing the young is finished, generally speaking, leave the rock and lead a wandering life on the ocean in search of food. On the west side of the Atlantic, they extend their flight as far south as the Gulf of Mexico, and northwards to Labrador, and even occasionally as far as Greenland. Their southern limit on the east side of the Atlantic is the coast of Portugal. Off Bergen, according to Pontopeidan, where, from the keeping at a distance from land, it is called HAV-SULE, "It is a bird of passage, or of the wandering unsettled sort. It is not seen in this country, before the latter end of January, or beginning of February when the herring fishery begins, and then it serves for a sign to give notice of the season. They do not come nearer land than half a mile. Then the farmer observes when the fish seek the narrow shallow water. At Easter, these birds are not seen any more, therefore I cannot say much about them breeding. They are so stupid, that by laying a few herrings upon a floating board, they may be enticed to the bait and killed with the oar."

The Island of the Bass is the property of Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., and is leased by an active tenant for £38 of rent. This, however, is exclusive of the pasturage of the island, but includes a small patch of ground at Canty Bay on the contiguous shore, with a house, and where the tenant of the island resides, who is usually denominated the *keeper*. The principal produce of the island, on which the tenant depends for the means of paying his rent, is the young gannets.

In Ray's time, the young ones plucked and prepared for the market by being flayed and gutted, were esteemed a choice dish, and fetched one shilling and eightpence apiece. Dr Walker, who wrote his account of the Bass probably previously to 1774, estimates their price at the same value. At the present time, however, their price varies from ninepence to sixpence, and the demand is yearly decreasing. The public taste in eatables, as in dress, undergoes changes which it is difficult to account for. This is very strikingly illustrated in the Household Book of James V., published by the Bannatyne Club in 1837. In the introductory observations, it is said, "The table of the king appears to have been frequently supplied with dishes unknown at present in this country, as in use by either rich or poor. Thus the SEAL was purchased for the larder, either whole or in quarters, and entered as *Phoca* or Selch. The PORPOISE too was in demand in similar circumstances, under the name of Pellok. It may be added, that the monks of Dunfermline had a grant from Malcolm IV. of the heads of the Porpoises caught in the Forth, except the *tongues* (reserved for the royal table at Holyrood); and that the bones of this small kind of whale, found a few years ago near the monastery of that place, must be regarded as the offals of the kitchen instead of the relics of a deluge," (p. xi). In other portions of the work, there are entries equally singular, and in reference to the gannet, the purchases for the royal table seem to have taken place with tolerable regularity, ranging in numbers on any one day from a single bird to thirty-six. At present, we suspect that a young gannet would not be considered a dainty dish to set before the Queen. But ancient tastes may yet be revived.

In St Kilda, according to Martin, "the natives make a pudding of the fat of this fowl in the stomach of it, and boil it in thin water-gruel, which they call *Brochan*; they drink it likewise for removing the cough; it is, by daily experience, found to be an excellent, vulnerary," p. 282. Tradition seems to be silent respecting the mode of dressing the geese in the neighbourhood of the Bass in bygone times, but that they were in high repute is clear from the fact of "a curious remnant of

olden ecclesiastical privileges, that twelve Solan geese, entire, with the feathers on, are annually paid to the minister of North Berwick,—the Vicar of the Bass.” (Stat. Acct. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 333, Edin. 1845.)

Besides the prepared carcasses of the young gannets, now certainly in less estimation for the table than formerly, the flayed skin and the guts yield a considerable quantity of oil. This product, once esteemed of “singular force in medicine,” and “very profitable for the gout, and many other diseases in the haunches and groins of mankind,” does not now occupy a place in the laboratory, but is almost exclusively employed to grease the axils of cart-wheels, and the machinery of the thrashing-mills on the farms in the neighbourhood.

Besides the carcase and the fat, the young gannets supply to the keeper a considerable quantity of feathers. In ordinary cases, these feathers are not fit for the market, owing to their strong fishy scent. By certain manipulations, however, especially exposing them for weeks together in a warm place, as near a baker’s oven, the offensive odour is said to disappear.

The other feathered inhabitants of this singular island, although embracing several congregating species, are inconsiderable in point of numbers when contrasted with the gannets. When the birds have been scared from their nests by the firing of a musket, it is interesting to observe the different degrees of facility with which they take flight, from the light and active kittiwake at the one extreme, to the sluggish gannet at the other. All, however, are soon in motion, and then their numerous circling crossing paths as the different kinds display their anxiety or their fear, produce a busy scene, which Harvey not inaptly compared to “a mighty swarm of bees.”

Who can recount what transmigrations there
Are annual made? what nations come and go?
And how the living clouds on clouds arise?
Infinite wings: till all the plume-dark air
And rude resounding shore are one wild cry.

THOMSON.

When Ray visited the Bass, he only found six species of birds breeding thereon, and Dr Walker, in reference to this

statement, observes, "All that we could discover upon it in the month of May just amounted to the same number, but with this difference, that two of the species which he mentions did not occur to us, and two of those which we saw, were not observed by him." In a breeding place like the Bass, of such easy access, and where the birds are liable to disturbance and persecution, it is not likely that all the species can maintain their places with equal success, or that any two observers visiting the island at distant, or even tolerably near intervals, will meet with the same breeders. The following species were found by Ray :—

1. Solan goose, *SULA Bassana*. The numbers have probably diminished, owing to unfeeling sportsmen shooting the parent birds throughout the period of incubation. Mr Selby indeed refers to a "privilege possessed by the proprietor of preventing any person from shooting, or otherwise destroying them within a certain limited distance of the island." If, however, such a *privilege* exists, it is at present neither respected nor enforced.

2. The Scout or Foolish Guillemot, *URIA troile*, is still found in considerable numbers. The species, or perhaps rather a variety, with a white line behind the eye, constituting the *Guillemot Bride*, *URIA lacrymans* of Temminck, (Ornith. 4e partie, Paris, 1840, p. 572,) has been shot in the neighbourhood of the Bass. We are at a loss to comprehend what Ray intended by the Scout being "double ribbed."

3. The Kittiwake, *LARUS Rissa*. This species still occupies a place, and never fails to attract the notice of visitors, by its easy motions and plaintive cries.

4. The Cormorant, *PHALACROCORAX Carbo*.

5. Scart or Shag, *PHALACROCORAX Graculus*. The Cormorant was found by Dr Walker, and still maintains its place. The Shag very probably is yet to be met with.

6. The Turtle Dove, Scraber, Tystie, or *CEPHUS Grylle*, was not found by Walker, and has now probably deserted the locality. The birds which Dr Walker added, were the two following :—

7. The Razor-bill or Marrot, *ALCA Torda*, a species which may still be found in tolerable abundance.

8. The Herring Gull, *LARUS argentatus*. This still occurs, but in very limited numbers.

9. The Common Gull, *LARUS canus*, is recorded by Walker, who apparently considers it the same as the Kittiwake of Ray. Last autumn, we saw a few common gulls flying about in the neighbourhood of the island, along with the following species not noticed by Ray or Walker, an observation which is likewise applicable to the remaining birds of the Bass, noticed in the continuation of our list.

10. The Black-backed Gull, *LARUS marinus*, is enumerated among the feathered inhabitants of the Bass, in the Statistical Account to which we have already referred. We observed one single bird during one of our visits, and while performing its usual evolutions, uttering its well-known warning cry to all to *beware*.

11. The Coulterneb or Tammie Norrie, *FRATERCULA arctica*. This singular-looking bird, which prefers a hole in the soil to a ledge of rock as a breeding place, has here to carry on a warfare with intruding rabbits.

12. The Eider Duck or Dunter, *SOMOTERIA mollissima*, was but a few years ago a regular inhabitant of the Bass. In the Museum in the College of Edinburgh, there are specimens of the male, female, and young birds taken from the island in the summer of 1824. It is now confined, however, since persecution expelled it from the Bass and the neighbouring islands, to the sandy downs on the shore between North Berwick and Gulane.

13. The Peregrine Falcon, *Falco peregrinus*, like the Dunter, occupied the Bass as a breeding place, and furnished *hunting hawks* to the lovers of falconry. During the last two summers, old birds have been occasionally seen hovering round the island, but have not succeeded in establishing a nest in the opinion of the keeper.

Besides these more remarkable birds which give to the Bass its peculiar striking features as breeding ground, there are other species which occasionally or regularly nestle in its old

towers or its cliffs, as the jackdaw, the raven, and the hooded crow. As we have already stated, the list of the birds which breed on the Bass in one season, would not in all probability correspond in every particular with that of another season, the difference arising from causes sufficiently obvious.

The pasture surface of the Bass "is guessed at seven acres," (Stat. Acc.), and is considered as affording pasture for about thirty sheep. But the differences of seasons occasion a corresponding change in the quantity of food, although, in the popular belief, twenty sheep form the suitable number. It is said that the sheep fed upon the Bass "are in high estimation for their very peculiar excellence, and bring a high corresponding price," (Ib.). It is even alleged, that carcasses have been sold as *Bass fed mutton* which had been fattened elsewhere.

The richness of the pasture is mainly owing to the continual muting of the birds in their flights across the islands, and perhaps likewise from the greater part of the surface having been formerly tenanted by gulls and other wild fowl. When even a poor soil, in ordinary cases disposed to produce little else than heath, is dunged by birds, or otherwise, to a sufficient extent, new plants appear, and a green sward of rich grass occupies the place of the coarsest herbage. We remember a few years ago being struck with the peculiar rude pasture of the Dunies near Peterhead, when contrasted with the sterility exhibited by the similar *peaty* soil on Stirling hill in the neighbourhood. On examining a portion of the soil of the Dunies taken a few inches below the surface, carbonate of lime, phosphate of lime, oxalate of lime, with a trace of magnesia, were detected by suitable tests, indicating at once, as a conclusion, that, of old, this had been a breeding station for birds, but doubtless deserted on account of the increased population of the district becoming incompatible with their processes of incubation. Yet the guano then produced had changed the character of the soil, and the rich grasses, then for the first time encouraged in their growth, have continued to maintain their ground.

In illustration of the above remark, it may be mentioned that the summits and sides of those hills which were occupied

by our ancestors as **HILL FORTS**, usually exhibit a far richer herbage than corresponding heights in the neighbourhood with the mineral soil derived from the very same source. It is to be kept in view, that these positions of strength were at the same time occupied as **HILL FOLDS**, into which, during the threatened or actual invasion of the district by a hostile tribe, the cattle were driven, especially during the night, as to a place of safety, and sent out to pasture in the neighbourhood during the day. The droppings of these collected herds, would, as takes place in analogous cases at present, very speedily improve the soil to such an extent as to induce a permanent fertility.

The view of the origin of the richness of the pasture of the island under consideration, receives striking confirmation from the phenomena presented in another quarter. On the bleak and barren muir of Culloden, there are, here and there, very singular green patches of rich grass, contrasting in a remarkable manner with the heath-clad surface around. These are the graves of the slain on that memorable battle-field, when the fallen fortunes of a perfidious race were decided, and the victory of civil and religious liberty secured. We visited the spot a century after the engagement, and the effects of the corruption of the warriors on the sod which covered them, remained in unequivocal distinctness.

BOTANY OF THE BASS.

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BOTANY OF THE BASS.

IT is not to be expected that the Botany of such a limited portion of the earth's surface as the Bass, could furnish materials for an extended treatise. A very few lines will contain the enumeration of all the plants which it furnishes. Instead of confining myself, however, to such a dry detail, I have made the botany of the island the *text*, as it were, on which to found observations connected with the mode in which the globe has been clothed with verdure. I have endeavoured to point out the relation which the various tribes of plants bear to each other, and the place which they occupy in the general economy of vegetation.

The Bass has been long an object of interest both to the tourist and the naturalist. Its remarkable form and position, its geological structure, and the plants and animals found on it, have rendered it famous in the itineraries of travellers. So early as the beginning of the seventeenth century it was visited by the illustrious Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood ; and he gives an account of it in one of his works.

He notices the peculiar whiteness of the cliffs, and the innumerable tribes of birds which darken the air when on the wing.* On the 19th August 1661, the celebrated John Ray, well known for his able works on Natural History, visited the island. He describes the solan geese as being very bold, and sitting in great multitudes till one comes close up to them. He also states that there was a small house on the isle called a castle, which he describes as inaccessible and impregnable.†

From the facility of communication with North Berwick, the Bass of late years has become one of the spots to which the Edinburgh botanists pay regular visits.‡

The island, like the others in the Frith of Forth, is formed of trap-rocks, which lava-like have burst through the overlying strata at a distant epoch of the earth's history, "when the mountains ascended and the valleys descended to the place appointed for them."§ The earliest vegetation on rocks of this kind, consists of plants belonging to the Lichen tribe, whose invisible germs are constantly floating in the atmosphere, ready to light on any spot favourable for their growth. These grey, yellow, and black lichens are too often despised and neglected by ordinary observers. When carefully examined, however, they are found to present an interesting structure, and to occupy an important place in the economy of nature. They act

* *Hujus insulæ superficies, mensibus Maio et Junio, nidis, ovis, pullisque propemodum tota instrata est; adeo, ut vix uspiam, præ eorum copia, pedem libere ponere liceat: tantaque supervolitantium turba, ut, nubium instar, solem, cælumque auferant.* * * * *Tota insula adventantibus candido nitore micat; clivique, tanquam ex albissima creta, fulgent.* Harvey, *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium*. Lond. 1651, p. 30.

† *Memorials of Ray* published by the Ray Society. Lond. 1846, p. 154.

‡ Mr Keddie has given in the *Phytologist*, vol. ii. p. 222, an interesting account of an excursion to the Bass by a party of Glasgow Botanists in July 1844.

יעלוי הרים ירדו בקעות §
אל-מקום זה יסדת להם:

Psalm civ. 8.

by degrees upon the hard rocks, cause disintegration of their stony particles, and thus form a stratum of mould in which the seeds of higher plants can find a nidus when wafted thither by winds or other causes. They are able to vegetate on sterile rocks without a particle of previously organized matter in their neighbourhood ; and some of them seem, in the first stages of their growth, to depend for their nourishment on the atmosphere and moisture alone. Many of them, no doubt, take up into their substance the materials of the rocks on which they grow, and when analysed are found to contain phosphate and oxalate of lime and other inorganic substances. Dr R. D. Thomson, Lecturer on Practical Chemistry in the University of Glasgow, instituted a series of analyses by which he shewed that lichens in general require inorganic matter as part of their food.*

Besides rocks, we find that lichens also attach themselves to trees and other plants, and it has been said that particular lichens vegetate on certain species ; so that the plants which yield cinchona and angustura bark and strychnia may thus be distinguished. This would seem to depend principally on locality, exposure to light and moisture, and not on the nature of the trees themselves. All tourists may have remarked that some trees bear these lichens in greater abundance than others, and that while the usnea or beard-moss is found commonly on fir, ash, oak, and birch, it is less frequent on beech, elm, sycamore, and lime.

In several places where the rocks are exposed, we find the Bass covered with plants of this description. One of the species, *Parmelia parietina* (yellow wall-parmelia), occurs in great profusion, giving in some parts an orange colour to the surface of the rocks. This lichen yields a yellow colouring matter called *Parietin*, which has been used as a dye, and

* Thus *Cladonia pyxidata* was found to contain silica, phosphates of iron and lime, carbonate of lime, &c. See paper in proceedings of Philosophical Society of Glasgow, vol. i. p. 182.

which is a very delicate test for alkalies.* Among other Bass lichens may be noticed *Parmelia saxatilis* (grey stone-parmelia); *Lecanora parella* (perelle), yielding a dye equal to cudbear; *Ramalina scopulorum* (rock ramalina); *Lecidea geographica* (map† lecidea); and *Sphærophoron coralloides* (coral sphærophoron). These plants grow also on the ruined buildings of the Bass, and give to them those sombre colours which add in no small degree to the interest with which such edifices are contemplated. They are well denominated “time stains,” and they have given rise to the following lines of Crabbe:

“ But ere you enter, yon bold tower survey,
Tall and entire and venerably grey,
For time has softened what was harsh when new,
And now the stains are all of sober hue,—
The living stains which Nature's hand alone
Profuse of life pours forth upon the stone;
For ever growing, where the common eye
Can but the bare and rocky bed descry,
There Science loves to trace her tribes minute
The juiceless foliage and the tasteless fruit;
There she perceives them round the surface creep,
And while they meet, their due distinction keep,
Mixed but not blended, each its name retains,
And these are Nature's ever-during stains.
And wouldst thou, artist, with thy tints and brush
Form shades like these? pretender, where thy blush?
In three short hours shall thy presuming hand
The effect of three slow centuries command?
Thou may'st thy various greens and greys contrive,
They are not lichens, nor like aught alive;
But yet proceed, and when thy tints are lost,
Fled in the shower, or crumbled by the frost;
When all thy work is done away as clean
As if thou never spread'st thy grey and green;
Then may'st thou see how Nature's work is done,
How slowly true she lays her colours on,

* See Dr R. Thomson's paper on *Parietin*. *Proceedings of Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, vol. i. p. 187.

† So called from the peculiar marking it produces on the rocks.

When her least speck upon the hardest flint
Has mark and form, and is a living tint,
And so embodied with the rock that few
Can the small germ upon the substance view."

Lichens, to use the old Linnean phraseology, may be called *Bondslaves*, for they are chained to the soil and render it fit for the nourishment of others,—

" ————— they make a way
For bolder foliage nursed by their decay."

They form a large proportion of the vegetation of cold regions and of the summits of lofty mountains. Some of them have nutritious qualities, and supply materials for food in regions where no other species of plant would grow. Among them may be noticed *Cetraria islandica* (Iceland moss), *Cladonia rangiferina* (reindeer moss), and several species of *Gyrophora*, which constitute the *Tripe de roche* of the Canadians, and furnished Captain Sir John Franklin and his companions with food in Arctic Regions during a season when no other means of subsistence could be obtained.

By means of lichens the Coral Islands of the Pacific are in the course of a few years enabled to furnish a soil for the growth of the Coco-nut palm. Thus it is when we contemplate the operations of the God of nature upon a grand scale, we find that he employs the most minute and apparently insignificant agents to accomplish his vast designs. The Coral Islands owe their existence to innumerable animals scarcely visible to the eye, and the vegetation of these islands commences with specks of lichens which would escape the notice of the ordinary observer. How different are God's ways from man's ways in this respect. D'Aubigné remarks, "When man would raise a shelter against the weather—a shade from the heat of the sun,—what preparation of materials, what scaffolding and crowds of workmen, what trenches, and heaps of rubbish! But when God would do the same he takes the

smallest seed, that a new-born child might clasp in its feeble hand, deposits it in the bosom of the earth, and from that grain, scarcely distinguishable in its commencement, he produces the stately tree under whose spreading branches the families of man may find a refuge."

On the rocks more immediately under the influence of the sea, various species of *Algæ* or sea-weed occur. The water, however, surrounding the Bass is in general too deep, and the rocks too precipitous to allow of the growth of these plants. It is chiefly at that part where the rocks shelve into the sea, and where a landing is effected, that the sea-weeds develop their fronds. Several species of *Fucus*, *Laminaria*, *Delesseria*, *Rhodymenia*, *Lichina*, *Chondrus*, *Ulva*, and *Enteromorpha*, may be seen at particular times. These plants are interesting, not only on account of their structure, but also on account of their nutritive qualities. Some of them, such as Irish moss (*Chondrus crispus*), supply a gelatinous food which is used at table, and the dulse, tangle, and lavers of the shores are used as articles of diet in various parts of Britain.

A few Mosses and Fungi are also met with on the island. An acrid species of the latter tribe, *Agaricus peronatus*, or spatterdash agaric, has been seen growing in profusion, and assuming an annular or ring-like mode of development. This form of growth is common in the mushroom tribe, and to some of the species, as *Agaricus oreades* and *peronatus*, the origin of fairy rings has been attributed.

Such are a few remarks on the Cryptogamic vegetation of the island. These flowerless plants, minute and despised though they may be, exhibit under the microscope forms of the most exquisite beauty and symmetry.* They are as finely contrived as the grandest creature, and they point out to us that greatness and smallness are nothing in the eyes of Him who is "wonderful in counsel and excellent in working." The

* See the Plates of Greville's *Scottish Cryptogamic Flora*, Hooker's *Jungermanniiæ*, Harvey's *Phycologia*, Dr J. D. Hooker's *Antarctic Cryptogamic Flora*, &c., for a confirmation of this statement.

more intimately we examine the works of the Creator the more beautiful do they appear. Every attempt to magnify them exhibits new wonders, and there seems to be no limit to the microscopic discoveries of the naturalist. In speaking of the wonders which are disclosed by the minute investigation of the works of God, Dr Chalmers remarks :—" About the time of the invention of the telescope, another instrument was formed which laid open a scene no less wonderful, and rewarded the inquisitive spirit of man. This was the microscope. The one led me to see a system in every star ; the other leads me to see a world in every atom. The one taught me that this mighty globe, with the whole burden of its people and of its countries, is but a grain of sand in the high field of immensity ; the other teaches me that every grain of sand may harbour within it the tribes and the families of a busy population. The one told me of the insignificance of the world I tread upon ; the other redeems it from all its insignificance, for it tells me that in the leaves of every forest, and in the flowers of every garden, and in the waters of every rivulet, there are worlds teeming with life, and numberless as are the glories of the firmament."

The Phanerogamous or flowering plants of the Bass, are not numerous. They are less than one-half of those found on Ailsa Crag,* which may be said to represent the Bass in the west coast of Scotland. The mode in which the cliffs dip perpendicularly into the sea on all sides except one, the absence of a shore, the smaller extent of the island, and the difference in the climate, may account for the comparatively small number of flowering plants found on the Bass.

The pasture of the island is said to be peculiarly good for the feeding of sheep, and Bass mutton has long been celebrated. The saline matter scattered by the spray of the ocean may contribute to the nutritious quality of the grass. Liebig regards common salt as an important addition to the food of cattle, and

* See account of the Botany of Ailsa Crag in the *Phytologist*, vol. ii.

shews that, in the case of cattle fed in inland districts, it leads to the formation of phosphate of soda, an ingredient of blood.* Boussingault, on the other hand, says that the statements made in regard to the effects of salt are totally erroneous, and that when two lots of cattle were supplied for some time with the same kind of food, the one without and the other with salt, scarcely any difference in weight could be detected. There can be no doubt, however, that salt is eagerly sought by animals, and it seems to be necessary for their comfort.

The general herbage of the Bass consists chiefly of the following grasses :—*Festuca ovina*, sheep's fescue-grass, a favourite food of sheep, and said to be very nutritious ; *Festuca duriuscula*, hard fescue, and a peculiar glaucous variety,—this grass is also valuable in an agricultural point of view, and Dr Parnell, in his excellent work on British Grasses, says, " It is very productive for its size, of early growth, and thrives well in a great variety of soils and situations. It withstands the effects of long-continued dry weather, in rich natural pastures, better than many other grasses, and retains its verdure during winter in a remarkable degree ;" sheep are very fond of it : *Poa trivialis*, *pratensis*, and *annua*, rough, smooth, and annual meadow-grass, all good for herbage ; *Dactylis glomerata*, rough cock's-foot grass ;—also useful in agriculture, but occurring more sparingly than those already noticed. Besides these there are other grasses which are not prized for pasture, such as *Agrostis vulgaris* and *canina*, species of bent-grass ; *Holcus lanatus*, meadow soft grass ; *Serrafalcus* (*Bromus*) *mollis*, soft brome-grass ; and *Sclerochloa* (*Poa*) *maritima*, creeping sea meadow-grass.

The dung of the sea-fowl is washed down by rains into the sea, and is thus prevented from accumulating in the form of guano. In some parts of the island, where it has become mixed with the soil in moderate quantity, the vegetation is

* See Liebig's *Researches into the Chemistry of Food* ; translated by Dr Gregory. 1847.

very luxuriant. This is seen in the case of *Lychnis dioica* (*diurna*, of Babington's Manual), pink campion, which in a ravine running towards the sea on the west side, attains a large size, and is accompanied with luxuriant specimens of *Rumex Acetosa*, or common sorrel. On making a longitudinal section of the lower part of the stem of the *Lychnis*, I remarked numerous cavities separated from each other by partitions, and the same structure was observed in the stem of *Silybum marianum* (*Carduus marianus*), or milk thistle,* found near North Berwick. These cavities resemble what is seen in the pith of the walnut and other plants, as well as in the lower part of the stem of *Cicuta virosa*, or water-hemlock. The cavities seem to contain air; and in the last-mentioned plant they serve the purpose of floating the plant in the water.

It is interesting to remark, that the species of *Lychnis* and *Rumex* mentioned also grow luxuriantly on Ailsa Crag. On the latter island *Cochlearia officinalis*, common scurvy-grass, occurs occasionally with leaves $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. In my notice of its botany, I state that "the luxuriance of this and the other plants depends in part on the dung of the sea-fowl, which serves as an excellent manure when applied in moderate quantity. At the base of some of the cliffs there is a large accumulation of black mould, mixed with the dung of sea-fowl, and the remains of numerous birds that have fallen from the cliffs. The ammoniacal odour arising from these sources, under the influence of the sun's rays, was very powerful. Some of the soil was analysed by Dr R. D. Thomson, and found to contain a notable quantity of ammonia. Where the guano existed in greatest quantity there was scarcely any vegetation,

* As far as the motto, "Nemo me impune lacesset," is concerned, no thistle deserves better the name of Scotch thistle. It seems also to have been cultivated in the neighbourhood of castles in Scotland, and is now found about their ruins. It certainly deserves the title better than the plant at present cultivated as the Scotch thistle, viz. *Onopordum Acanthium*, which is a doubtful native of Scotland. Three species of thistle are found native on the Bass, viz. *Carduus lanceolatus*, *palustris*, and *tenuiflorus*, spear, marsh, and slender-flowered thistle.

and it was only when the manure was sparingly applied that the plants assumed the luxuriance I have described." The absence of a shore round the Bass prevents the guano from contributing in the same manner to its vegetation.

The species of *Compositæ* or Composite flowers found on the Bass amount to six,—the dandelion, sow-thistle, mouse-ear hawkweed, besides three species of thistle already noticed. They are all well marked by the hairs which occupy the place of the calyx, and which, after flowering, are developed so as to waft the fruit to a distance. The down of thistles is a familiar illustration. In the plants mentioned there are numerous florets or small flowers on a common head or receptacle, surrounded by green leaves called an involucre. In the young state the receptacle is succulent, being full of fluid and starchy matter for the nourishment of the flowers, and in this stage of the plant's growth it is occasionally used as food. An instance of this occurs in the common artichoke,—the part eaten being the receptacle or the central portion to which the flowers and scales of the involucre are attached. The unexpanded florets constitute *the choke*. The same thing is seen in thistles, the receptacles of which are sometimes eaten. In the progress of growth the insoluble starch of the receptacle is converted into soluble saccharine matter, which is absorbed by the flowers for their nourishment. As the fruit ripens the receptacle becomes dry, and in many cases, as in the dandelion, assumes a convex form, while the leaves of the involucre are turned downwards. These circumstances conspire to allow the fruit, with its feathery appendages, to be easily scattered by the wind. It is interesting to see the beautiful provisions thus made for the dissemination of seeds and the perpetuation of the species.

Some of the Composite plants are remarkable as being what are called horological or meteoric flowers, expanding and shutting their petals and florets at particular periods of the day or according to the nature of the weather. They thus act as silent monitors, warning us of the rapid flight of time. In the

floral clock of Linnæus there are many plants of this natural order, and although the hours are perhaps not so regular as laid down by the Swedish naturalist, still there is a tendency to periodicity in their movements. The following are a few, with the hours of the expansion of their flowers as noticed at Upsal,—

<i>Tragopogon pratensis</i> , Yellow Goatsbeard,	.	4-5 A.M.
<i>Crepis virens</i> , Smooth Hawksbeard,	. .	4-5 ...
<i>Cichorium Intybus</i> , Wild Succory,	. .	5 ...
<i>Taraxacum officinale</i> , Dandelion,	. .	5-6 ...
<i>Lapsana communis</i> , Common Nipple-wort,	. .	5-6 ...
<i>Hypochaeris maculata</i> , Spotted Cat's-ear,	. .	6 ...
Several species of <i>Sonchus</i> , Sow-thistles,	. .	6-7 ...
Several species of <i>Hieracium</i> , Hawkweeds,	. .	6-7 ...
<i>Calendula pluvialis</i> , Small Cape Marygold,	. .	7 ...
..... <i>arvensis</i> , Field Marygold,	. .	9 ...
<i>Hieracium chondrilloides</i> , Gum-succory Hawkweed,	. .	9 ...
<i>Tragopogon porrifolius</i> , Purple Goatsbeard or Salsafy, opens its flowers in the morning and closes them about 1 P.M.		

This periodicity in the expanding and closing of flowers is alluded to by the poet in the following lines :—

In every copse and sheltered dell,
Unveiled to the observant eye,
Are faithful monitors who tell
How pass the hours and seasons by.

The green-robed children of the spring
Will mark the periods as they pass,
Mingle with leaves Time's feathered wing,
And bind with flowers his silent glass.

See *Hieracium's* various tribes
Of plummy seed and radiate flowers,
The course of time their blooms describe,
And wake and sleep appointed hours.

Broad o'er its imbricated cup
The *Goatsbeard* spreads its purple rays,
But shuts its cautious petals up,
Retreating from the noontide blaze.

On upland shores the shepherd marks
 The hour when, as the dial true,
Cichorium to the towering lark
 Lifts her soft eyes serenely blue.

Thus in each flower and simple bell,
 That in our path betrodde lie,
 Are sweet remembrancers who tell
 How fast the winged moments fly.

Thus "Man comes forth like a flower ; as a flower of the field so he flourisheth ; and as the flower of the grass he shall pass away. For the sun is no sooner risen with a burning heat than it withereth the grass, and the flower thereof falleth, and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth."

The plants of the Composite tribe are usually despised as being common weeds, and the traveller passes them unnoticed. How different are the feelings with which some of the commonest of them are contemplated when they spring up in other climes. The common daisy (*Bellis perennis*) furnishes a good illustration. Among some English earth in which seeds had been conveyed to Dr Carey in India, there sprang up, to his great delight, the daisy ; and this he perpetuated as an annual raised from seed preserved from season to season. The feelings excited in his mind by this incident are thus beautifully depicted by Montgomery :—

Thrice welcome, little English flower !
 My mother country's white and red,
 In rose or lily, till this hour
 Never to me such beauty spread ;
 Transplanted from thine island bed,
 A treasure in a grain of earth,
 Strange as a spirit from the dead,
 Thine embryo sprang to birth.

Thrice welcome, little English flower !
 Of early scenes beloved by me,
 While happy in my father's bower,
 Thou shalt the blythe memorial be ;

The fairy spots of infancy,
Youth's golden age, and manhood's prime,
Home, country, kindred, friends with thee,
I find in this far clime.

Thrice welcome, little English flower !
To me the pledge of hope unseen ;
When sorrow would my soul o'erpower,
In joys that were or might have been,
I'd call to mind how fresh and green—
I saw thee waking from the dust ;
Then turn to heaven, with brow serene,
And place in God my trust.

On one part of the Bass there is a space enclosed by a dilapidated wall, where a garden formerly existed. In this spot, the soil of which consists of fine deep mould, there is now a vigorous crop of *Urtica dioica*, or common nettle, one of the plants which follow the footsteps of man, and which often indicates by its presence the situations on which cottages stood in some of the now thinly peopled or deserted Highland glens. Thus, while proprietors of the soil, in their desire to have the exclusive use of large tracts of country, whether for sheep or for deer, make clearances of Highland glens, and endeavour to get rid of all vestiges of the peasantry who inhabited them, and "lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth,"—there springs up in the wild waste a plant, which marks the cottage-sites as hallowed ground, and tells of the deed to future generations. The occurrence of nettles in neglected gardens and fortresses was a subject of observation in times long gone by. Thus Solomon, when speaking of the field of the slothful and the vineyard of the man void of understanding, remarks that, "nettles had covered the face thereof;" and the prophet Isaiah when alluding to the desolation which shall come on the enemies of God's people, says, "Thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof."

Nettles furnish fibres which may be employed as hemp, and in a young state they have been employed as articles

of diet. In former days they were used in Scotland to furnish spring-kail, and Andrew Fairservice remarks, "Nae doubt, I suld understand my ain trade of horticulture, seeing I was bred in the parish of Dreepdaily near Glasco', where they raise lang-kail under glass, and force the early nettles for their spring kail." Some species of nettle attain a large size. Mr Backhouse, in his travels in Australia, met with specimens of tree-nettles (*Urtica gigantea*) which measured 18, 20, and 21 feet in circumference. They were "fierce with poisoned stings," and when touched caused severe pain and inflammation. The sting of the common nettle (ignoble though the plant is generally reckoned), is well worthy of examination. It consists of a hollow conical hair with a pointed or rounded top, and a large swelling at its base. This swelling or bag contains an irritating fluid, which is discharged through the hair when pressed upon. In the interior of the hair there may be observed, under the microscope, beautiful currents of fluids, which proceed in a spiral direction, and seem to be connected with the nutrition of the hair.

Among the nettles on the Bass there is a deep pool of water, said to be a spring, but there appears to be considerable doubt in regard to this, more especially if conclusions can be drawn from the temperature of the water. In the garden, besides culinary vegetables, flowers seem to have been cultivated, and there are still one or two garden flowers growing wild, such as *Narcissus Pseudo-Narcissus*, common daffodil, and *Narcissus biflorus*, or pale narcissus. In the early part of the season these flowers present a lively appearance, and in days of yore they may have helped to cheer the lonely hours of the prisoners. The sight of these *lilies* (as they are often called), transplanted from their native soil to the narrow limits of a small island garden, and expanding their gaudy corollas in the free air of heaven, must have excited similar feelings to those which arose in the mind of Mungo Park, when he contemplated a small moss sending up its fruiting stem in the desert, and must have irresistibly recalled our Saviour's words,

“Consider the *lilies* of the field, how they grow ; they toil not, neither do they spin : and yet, I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.”

Many are the useful lessons which may thus be drawn by the true lover of science, from the flowers which are scattered so profusely over the earth,—those “stars which shine in earth’s firmament.”

“In all places, then, and in all seasons,
Flowers expand their light and soul-like wings ;
Teaching us by most persuasive reasons,
How akin they are to human things.

And with child-like, credulous affection,
We behold their tender buds expand ;
Emblems of our own great resurrection,
Emblems of the bright and better land.”

Ray says they make strangers visiting the island “Burgesses of the Basse,” by giving them to drink of the water of the well, which springs near the top of the rock, and a flower out of the garden thereby.

The plants which, in an especial manner, attract the attention of botanists visiting the Bass, are *Beta maritima*, sea-beet, which grows luxuriantly on the rocks outside the walls of the old fortification ; and *Lavatera arborea*, tree-mallow, which occurs on the rocks within the walls. Both these plants are noticed by Ray in his Itinerary.

The sea-beet may be used as an article of diet in the same way as *Beta vulgaris*, or the true beet. If cultivated, the former would supply a good vegetable, its leaves serving as spinach, and its root furnishing nutritious saccharine food. It is found on the sea-shore in several parts of Scotland, especially in the south and west. In some of the Western Isles, as in Islay, it grows luxuriantly on cliffs near the sea. I may remark here, that many of the esculent plants cultivated in our gardens, have been, like the beet, originally derived from species found on the sea-shore. This may be illustrated by re-

ference to the sea-kale (*Crambe maritima*), a plant mentioned by Dr Walker doubtfully as a native of the Bass, and found wild on the shores of Arran, as well as in many places of the British coasts; the asparagus (*Asparagus officinalis*), a native of the Cornish shores; cabbage, cauliflower, brocoli, and savoy, which are all derived from one maritime species, *Brassica oleracea*, or the sea cole-wort. Dr Walker, in his *Essays on Natural History*,* remarks, that a great number of plants found growing on the sea-shore are salubrious. He illustrates this, not merely in the case of many culinary vegetables, but also in such poisonous tribes, as umbelliferous plants, among which we find, innocuous sea-shore species, as fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*); Alexanders (*Smyrnum Olusatrum*); celery (*Apium graveolens*); samphire (*Crithmum maritimum*); Scottish lovage (*Ligusticum Scoticum*); sulphur-wort (*Peucedanum officinale*); and sea holly (*Eryngium maritimum*). He remarks, "Though I would not propose it as a rule to be depended on, in so dangerous a case as that of poisons, yet I think it highly probable that all the maritime plants of the umbelliferous class are salutary and esculent. This I am certain of, that none of the umbelliferous plants known to be poisonous are stationed upon the sea-shore; all the maritime plants of this class whose qualities are known are innocent; and it is further remarkable, that this is not to be ascribed to their dry situation among the maritime rocks, or upon the sandy beach; for the celery and the sulphur-wort grow in the salt-marshes in as watery a soil as any of the umbelliferous aquatics that are poisonous. But here, I imagine, lies an essential difference between plants that inhabit salt water and fresh." Perhaps Dr Walker's conclusions are too general; but there is certainly much truth in his statements. In regard to umbelliferous plants, there seems to be still some information necessary before we can determine their poisonous or non-poisonous

* See Walker's description of the Basse in his *Essays on Natural History*. Edin. 1808, p. 297.

qualities. Of late, Dr Christison has shewn that many species reputed to be violent poisons, failed to produce any bad effect when given in large doses to animals. *Œnanthe crocata*, or hemlock water drop-wort, a plant commonly stated to be poisonous, and said to have caused death, by its roots having been used for parsnips, was found by him, when collected in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to have no deleterious properties whatever. The same species, however, gathered in other parts of Britain, has been reported recently as producing fatal effects. Perhaps the fact of Dr Christison's specimens having been collected from marshy ground near the sea at Dalmeny Park, may in part account for the difference in qualities, and thus corroborate Dr Walker's statements.

Lavatera arborea, tree-mallow, velvet leaf, or Bass mallow, is the most important plant, in a botanical point of view, which grows on the Bass Rock. This plant, according to Sibbald, existed at one time on other islands of the Frith of Forth, viz., on Inch Garvie and Inch Mykrie, but it has now disappeared from these localities. It is a biennial plant, belonging to the natural order Malvaceæ, or Mallow tribe, and is characterized by its outer calyx or involucre being three-lobed, and by its woody stem attaining a height of six or eight feet. On the rocks below the fortification it grows in great profusion, and in the month of July it has a gorgeous appearance, with its rose-coloured flowers streaked with darker veins. Like other plants of the order, it is mucilaginous and demulcent in its properties, and yields tenacious fibres, which may be used for forming ropes. It is a rare plant in Britain. It is met with on Ailsa Crag, and on rocks in the south-west of England.

The name *Lavatera* was given in honour of the two Lavaters, friends of Tournefort, the celebrated French botanist. The plant is figured in the lithograph as being that which chiefly characterises the botany of the Bass. Figure 1. is a drawing of a flowering branch, while figure 2. represents the double calyx remaining around the fruit. The outer calyx or involucre is larger than the inner, and is divided into three

broad spreading lobes; the inner is divided into five more erect and acute segments. The corolla is twisted when in bud, or consists of five pink-coloured purplish petals, which are inversely heart-shaped and abrupt. The stamens are numerous and monadelphous, i. e. united by their filaments into a tube; hence the plant is put in the class *Monadelphia*, order *Polyandria*, of the Linnean system. The pistil consists of an orbicular ovary, a cylindrical style with a conical base, and numerous stigmas, varying from seven to eight, or more. The capsules or seed-vessels are reticulated, as numerous as the stigmas, and ranged in a circle round a central column. The root runs deeply into the ground. The stem is woody, from six to eight, and even ten feet high, simple below, and branching above with a leafy head. The leaves are downy, (hence the name, velvet leaf,) alternate, on long footstalks, plaited, and divided into seven shallow lobes at their margin. The peduncles are single-flowered, and are aggregated in the axils of the leaves; the flowers in the centre of the clusters being first developed. The plant, if allowed to scatter its seeds in a garden, will spring up for many years in succession. It usually flowers during the second year, and then dies.

Among other Bass plants may be noticed *Armeria maritima* (Statice *Armeria*) or sea-pink, and *Cochlearia officinalis*, common scurvy-grass. These plants are found both on the sea-shore, and on the tops of the highest mountains in Scotland. I have picked the former on the summit of Ben Muich Dhui, a mountain only second in height to Ben Nevis. It has been shewn by Dr Dickie, that these plants vary in their inorganic constituents according to the situation in which they grow. When on the sea-shore, they contain salts of soda and iodine; when inland, they lose the iodine, and exchange soda for potash.

None of the other plants of the Bass seem to call for special notice. Enough has been said to point out the general character of its vegetable productions, and to shew to those who are interested in botanical pursuits the plants which in an es-

pecial manner deserve attention. Even in a circumscribed spot like the Bass, there are many objects to interest the scientific inquirer. To one who studies the objects with which he is surrounded, there are in all places, and at all times, materials for mental improvement, and the naturalist who contemplates nature in the true spirit of wisdom,—who sees in it the hand of an all-wise and beneficent God, whom he can, in the spirit of adoption, address as Abba Father,—is led from the heart to exclaim in adoring praise with the Psalmist, “O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all, the earth is full of thy riches.”

LIST OF THE PHANEROGAMOUS OR FLOWERING PLANTS
OF THE BASS,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE NATURAL SYSTEM OF BOTANY.

DICOTYLEDONOUS PLANTS.

Ranunculaceæ. Crowfoot tribe.

Ranunculus repens, L. Creeping Crowfoot.

Cruciferae. Cruciferous tribe.

Crambe maritima, L. Sea-kale. This is given on Dr Walker's authority, but it is doubtful.

Cochlearia officinalis, L. Common Scurvy-grass. This plant is found very generally diffused over the globe, and from being common on the sea-shores would naturally be used by sailors affected with scurvy, as the first fresh plant they picked on landing. Hence the English name of the plant.

Caryophyllaceæ. Chickweed tribe, or Clove-worts.

Silene maritima, With. Sea Champion or Catchfly. The name Catchfly is given to the genus because some of the species secrete a viscid matter which entraps flies.

Lychnis dioica, L. (*L. diurna* of Babington's Manual.) Red and white Champion.

Cerastium atro-virens, Bab. Mouse-ear chickweed.

..... *semidecandrum*, L. Little Mouse-ear Chickweed.

Malvaceæ. Mallow tribe, or Mallow-worts.

Lavatera arborea, L. Sea Tree-Mallow.

Geraniaceæ. Crane's-bill tribe.

Geranium molle, L. Dove's-foot Crane's-bill.

Leguminosæ. Pea and Bean tribe.

Vicia lathyroides, L. Spring Vetch.

Callitrichaceæ. Starwort tribe.

Callitriche verna, L. Vernal Water-starwort.

Portulacaceæ. Purslane tribe.

Montia fontana, L. Water-blinks.

Compositæ. Composite tribe.

Sonchus oleraceus, L. Common Sow-thistle.

Hieracium pilosella, L. Common Mouse-ear Hawkweed.

Taraxacum officinale, Wigg. Common Dandelion. The root of this plant, like that of chicory, may be used as a substitute for coffee.

Carduus tenuiflorus, Curt. Slender-flowered Thistle.

..... *lanceolatus*, L. Spear Plume-Thistle.

..... *palustris*, L. Marsh Plume-Thistle.

Chenopodiaceæ. Goose-foot tribe.

Atriplex rosea, L. Spreading-fruited Orache. One of the plants which furnish soda.

Beta maritima, L. Sea-Beet.

Polygonaceæ. Buck-wheat and Dock tribe.

Rumex crispus, L. Curled Dock.

..... *Acetosa*, L. Common Sorrel.

Urticaceæ. Nettle tribe, or Nettle-worts.

Urtica dioica, L. Great Nettle.

MONOCOTYLEDONOUS PLANTS.

Amaryllidaceæ. Amaryllis tribe.

Narcissus pseudo-narcissus, L. Common Daffodil.

..... *biflorus*, Curt. Pale Narcissus.

Gramineæ. Grasses.*Agrostis canina*, L. Brown Bent-grass...... *vulgaris*, With. Fine Bent-grass.*Holcus lanatus*, L. Meadow Soft-grass.*Poa trivialis*, L. Rough Meadow-grass...... *pratensis*, L. Smooth-stalked Meadow-grass...... *annuus*, L. Annual Meadow-grass*Sclerochloa maritima*, Lindl. (*Poa maritima*.) Creeping Sea Meadow-grass.*Dactylis glomerata*, L. Rough Cocks-foot grass.*Festuca ovina*, L. Sheep's Fescue-grass...... *duriuscula*, L. Hard Fescue-grass.*Serratulcus mollis*, Parl. (*Bromus mollis*.) Soft Brome-grass.

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